

Passion

AN ANALYSIS

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By

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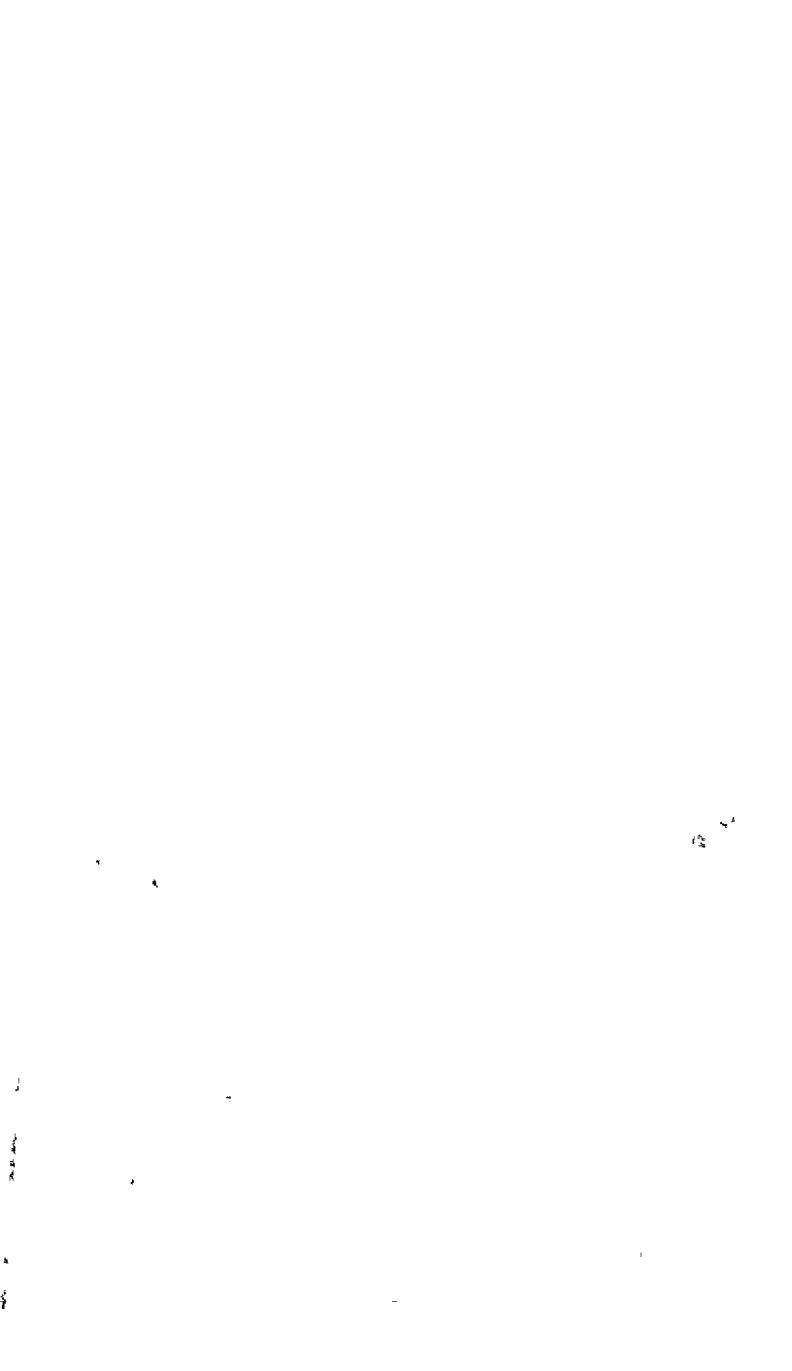
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WHAT IS FASCISM?

What is Fascism?.....

Fascism, in fact, is no peculiar, independent doctrine and system arising in opposition to existing capitalist society. Fascism, on the contrary, is the most complete and consistent working out, in certain conditions of extreme decay, of the most typical tendencies and policies of modern capitalism.

What are these characteristics which are common, subject to a difference in degree, to all modern capitalism and to Fascism? The most outstanding of these characteristics may be summarised as follows:

1. The basic aim of the maintenance of capitalism in the face of the revolution which the advance of productive technique and of class antagonisms threatens.
2. The consequent intensification of the capitalist dictatorship.
3. The limitation and suppression of the independent working-class movement, and building up of a system of organised class-co-operation.
4. The revolt against, and increasing suppression of, parliamentary democracy.
5. The extending State monopolist organisation of industry and finance.
6. The closer concentration of each imperialist bloc into a single economic-political unit.
7. The advance to war as the necessary accompaniment of the increasing imperialist antagonisms.

All these characteristics are typical, in greater or lesser degree, of all modern capitalist states, no less than of the specifically Fascist states.

In this wider sense it is possible to speak of the development towards Fascism of all modern capitalist states. The examples of the Roosevelt and Brüning regimes offer particular illustrations of near-Fascist or pre-Fascist stages of development towards complete Fascism within the shell of the old forms. Nor is it necessarily the case that the development to Fascism takes the same form in detail in each country.

The sum-total of the policies of modern capitalism present already in essence and in germ the sum-total of the policies of Fascism. But they are not yet complete Fascism. The completed Fascist dictatorship is still only so far realised over a limited area. What is the specific character of complete Fascism? The specific character of complete Fascism lies in the *means* adopted towards the realisation of these policies, in the new *social and political mechanism* built up for their realisation.

This is the specific or narrower significance of Fascism in the sense of the Fascist movements or the completed Fascist dictatorships as realised in Italy, Germany and other countries. Fascism in this specific or narrower sense is marked by definite familiar characteristics: in the case of the Fascist movements, by the characteristics of terrorism, extra-legal fighting formations, anti-parliamentarism, national and racial chauvinism, etc.; in the case of the completed Fascist dictatorship, by the suppression of all other parties and organisations, and in particular the violent suppression of all independent working class organisation, the reign of terror, the "totalitarian" state, etc.

It is to this specific sense of Fascism, that is to say, to fully complete Fascism, that we now need to come.

1. *The Class-Content of Fascism*

What, then, is Fascism in this specific or narrower sense?

The definitions of Fascism abound, and are marked by the greatest diversity and even contradictory character, despite the identity of the concrete reality which it is attempted to describe.

Fascism, in the view of the Fascists themselves, is a spiritual reality. It is described by them in terms of ideology. It represents the principle of "duty," of "order," of "authority," of "the State," of "the nation," of "history," etc.



Mussolini finds the essence of Fascism in the conception of the "State".

The foundation of Fascism is the conception of the State, its character, its duty and its aim. Fascism conceives of the State as an absolute, in comparison with which all individuals or groups are relative.... Whoever says Fascism implies the State.

(Mussolini's article on "Fascism" in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 1932, published in English under the title "The Political and Social Doctrine of Fascism," 1933).

We further learn that "Fascism believes in holiness and in heroism"; "the Fascist conceives of life as duty and struggle and conquest, life which should be high and full, lived for oneself, but above all for others"; "Fascism combats the whole complex system of democratic ideology"; "Fascism believes neither in the possibility nor the utility of perpetual peace"; "the Fascist State is an embodied will to power"; "the Fascist State is not indifferent to the fact of religion"; "for Fascism the growth of Empire is an essential manifestation of virility"; "Fascism denies the materialist conception of happiness as a possibility"—and similar profound, and hardly very original philosophising in an endless string, the ordinary stock-in-trade of all Conservatism.

Luigi Villari, the semi-official exponent of Fascism in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, writes:

The programme of the Fascists differs from that of other parties, as it represents for its members not only a rule of political conduct, but also a moral code.

Mosley in his *Greater Britain*, the official handbook of British Fascism, explains:

The movement is Fascist (1) because it is based on a high conception of citizenship—ideals as lofty as those which inspired the reformers of a hundred years ago; (2) because it recognises the necessity for an authoritative State, above party and sectional interests.

The Fascist, the organ of the Imperial Fascist League, defines Fascism (in its issue of August 1933):

Fascism is defined as a patriotic revolt against democracy, and a return to statesmanship. Fascist rule insists upon the duty of co-operation.



Fascism itself is less a policy than a state of mind. It is the national observance of duty towards others.

It is manifest that all this verbiage is very hitherto in being out the real essential character of Fascism.

In the first place, all these abstract general conceptions which are paraded as the peculiar outlook of Fascism have no distinctive character whatever, but are common to a thousand schools of bourgeois political philosophy, which are not yet Fascist, and in particular to all national-conservative schools. The generalisations of "duty of co-operation," "duty towards others," "the State as duty and struggle," "a high conception of citizenship," "the State above classes," "the common interest before self" (found in the German National Socialist Programme), are the dreary commonplaces of all bourgeois politicians and petty moralists to cover the realities of class domination and class-exploitation. The professedly distinctive philosophy of the idealisation of the State as an "absolute end" transcending all individuals and nations is only the vulgarisation of the whole school of Hegel and his successors, constituting the foundation of the dominant school of bourgeois political philosophy. In all these conceptions there is not a trace of original or distinctive thought.

In the second place, it is in fact incorrect to look for an explanation of Fascism in terms of a particular theory, in ideological terms. Fascism, as its leaders are frequently fond of insisting, developed as a movement in practice without a theory ("In the now distant March of 1919," says Mussolini in his *Encyclopædia* article, "since the creation of the Fascist Revolutionary Party, which took place in the January of 1915, I had no specific doctrinal attitude in my mind"), and only later endeavoured to invent a theory in order to justify its existence. Fascism, in fact, developed as a movement in practice, in the conditions of threatening proletarian revolution, as a counter-revolutionary mass movement supported by the bourgeoisie, employing weapons of mixed social demagoguery and terrorism to defeat the revolution and build up a strengthened capitalist state dictatorship; and only later endeavoured to adorn and rationalise this process with a "theory." It is in this actual historical process that the reality of Fascism must be found, and not in the secondary derivative attempts *post factum* at adornment with a theory.

No less unsatisfactory are the attempted anti-Fascist interpretations of Fascism in terms of ideology or abstract political conceptions. The conventional anti-Fascist ideological interpretations of Fascism see in Fascism only the principle of "dictatorship" or "violence." This approach, which is the hallmark of the liberal and social democratic schools of thought in relation to Fascism, sees Fascism as the parallel extreme to Communism, both being counterposed to bourgeois "democracy" Fascism is defined as "Dictatorship from the Right" in contrast to Communism as "Dictatorship from the Left" (this line is characteristically expressed in the Labour Party Manifesto of March 1933, on "Democracy versus Dictatorship" in explanation of the Labour refusal of the united working class front against Fascism).

It is evident that this definition of Fascism is equally useless as an explanation of the real essential character of Fascism.

"Dictatorships from the Right" have existed and can exist in hundreds of forms without in any sense constituting Fascism. Tsarism was a "Dictatorship from the Right." But Tsarism was not Fascism. The White Guard dictatorships immediately after the war for crushing the revolution were "Dictatorships from the Right." But these White Guard dictatorships were not yet Fascism, and only subsequently began to develop Fascist characteristics as they began to try to organise a more permanent basis (subsequent evolution in Hungary and Finland). Fascism may be in fact a reactionary dictatorship. But not every reactionary dictatorship is Fascism. The specific character of Fascism has still to be defined.

Wherein, then, lies the specific character of Fascism?

The specific character of Fascism cannot be defined in terms of abstract ideology or political first principles.

The specific character of Fascism can only be defined by laying bare its *class-basis*, the system of *class-relations* within which it develops and functions, and the *class-role* which it performs. Only so can Fascism be seen in its concrete reality, corresponding to a given historical stage of capitalist development and decay.

As soon, however, as we endeavour to come to the class-analysis of Fascism we find ourselves confronted with a dramatic opposition of two viewpoints.

In the one viewpoint Fascism is presented as an independent movement of the middle class or petit-bourgeoisie in opposition to both the proletariat and to large-scale capital.

In the other viewpoint Fascism is presented as a weapon of finance-capital, utilising the support of the middle class, of the stium proletariat and of demoralised working-class elements against the organised working class, but throughout acting as the movement and effective representative of the interests of finance capital.

Only when we have cleared this opposition, and what lies behind it, can we finally come to the real definition of Fascism.

2. *Middle-Class Revolution or Dictatorship of Finance-Capital?*

Fascism is commonly presented as a "middle-class" (i.e. petit-bourgeois) movement.

There is an obvious measure of truth in this in the sense that Fascism in its inception commonly originates from middle-class (petit-bourgeois) elements, directs a great deal of its appeal to the middle class, to small business and the professional classes against the organised working class and the trusts and big finance, draws a great part of its composition, and especially its leadership, from the middle class, and is soaked through with the ideology of the middle class, of the petit-bourgeoisie under conditions of crisis. So far, there is common agreement as to the obvious facts.

But Fascism is also often presented as a middle-class movement in the sense of an *independent* movement of the middle class, as a "third party" independent of capital or labour, in *opposition* to both the organised working class and large-scale capital. The Fascist dictatorship is accordingly presented as a "conquest of power" by the middle class in opposition to both the organised working class and to the previous domination of finance-capital.

This conception is common in liberal and social democratic treatment of Fascism.

Thus the liberal-labour *New Statesman and Nation* writes (October 28, 1933):

The collapse of capitalism does not at all necessarily lead to the seizure of power by the proletarians, but more probably to the dictatorship of the middle class. This is surely the Achilles heel of Communist theory.

Brailsford, the leading theorist of English Social Democracy, writes :

If the Marxist conception of history be sound, somewhere surely on the surface of this stricken planet the increasing misery of the workers should have produced some aggressive stirring. That is nowhere the case.

There is, however, an aggressive class which has made in one great industrial country its revolutionary stroke. The German Nazis are emphatically the party of the small middle class.....

This class rose and captured the machinery of the State, because it was "miserable" and desperate. It shrank in terror from the menace of large-scale commerce.

(H. N. Brailsford, "No Hands Wanted," *New Clarion*, July 8, 1933)

And again :

A militant middle class, with its dare-devil younger generation to lead it, faces the organised workers. If on both sides there has developed a distrust in parliamentary procedure, and a contempt for its dilatory and irresolute ways, the issue between them can be decided only by force.

The class which first decides to organise itself for this new phase will enter the contest with an overwhelming advantage.

(H. N. Brailsford, "Will England Go Fascist?" *News-Chronicle*, November 28, 1933)

The *Socialist Review* in January 1929 published an article entitled "The Third Nation," arguing that "the assumption at the root of all Communist theory" of a basic division between the capitalists and the proletariat as the decisive issue of modern society was false :

Apart from the capitalists and the proletariat—and between them—there is a third class. Here, then, is the fundamental question for Marxists : Does this class exhibit the characteristics of a subject class, about to make a bid for supremacy ?

A possible answer is that, in one country—Italy—they have already emerged as a revolutionary class. The Fascist revolution was essentially a revolution of the third class.

The American would-be "Marxist" journal the *Modern Monthly*, says in an editorial on "What is Fascism?"

The first task of the Fascist dictatorship was to wrest the power from the hands of the private bankers, industrialists and landlords who possessed it.

The Fascist dictatorship, it is clear, then, became possible only because of the two factors above noted: first, the crisis in imperialism and the consequent collapse of ruling-class power and policy, and, secondly the rise of a belligerent lower middle class which provided a mass basis for its assumption of power.

(V. F. Calverton in the *Modern Age*, July, 1933)

Even Scott Nearing's otherwise fruitful and valuable study of "Fascism" is marred by this same basic theory of Fascism as a petit-bourgeois revolution:

At the centre of the Fascist movement is the middle class, seeking to save itself from decimation or annihilation by seizing power and establishing its own political and social institutions. It therefore has the essential characteristics of a social revolutionary movement, since its success means the shift of the centre of power from one class to another. ...

Fascism arises out of the revolt of the middle class against the intolerable burdens of capitalist imperialism.

(Scott Nearing, "Fascism," *Vanguard Press*, New York, p. 42).

This separation of Fascism from the bourgeois dictatorship reaches its extreme point in the official Labour Party and Trades Union Congress organ, the *Daily Herald*, which, on May 2, 1933, after the full demonstration of the real character of Hitlerism in practice, still looked hopefully towards it to carry out some form of "socialist" programme against big capital:

The "National-Socialists," it is essential to remember, call themselves "Socialist" as well as "National." Their "Socialism" is not the Socialism of the Labour Party, or that of any recognised Socialist Party in other countries.

But in many ways it is a creed that is anathema to the big landlords, the big industrialists and the big financiers.

And the Nazi leaders are bound to go forward with the "Socialist" side of their programme.

(*Daily Herald* editorial on "Hitler's May Day," May 2, 1933)

Thus Fascism in the view of the Labour Party is almost a wing of Socialism, a rather unorthodox variety of Socialism, but "anathema to the big landlords, the big industrialists and the big financiers" (who, curiously enough, maintained it in funds and finally placed it in power.) The same day that this article appeared in the British Labour and trade union organ, this party whose creed was "anathema to the big landlords, the big industrialists and the big financiers" seized and closed down the workers' trade unions in Germany.

It is evident that this view of Fascism as a petit-bourgeois revolution against the big bourgeoisie is incorrect in fact, and dangerous in the extreme to any serious understanding of the real character of Fascism and of the fight against it.

That it is incorrect in fact is manifest from the most elementary survey of the actual history, development, basis and practice of Fascism. The open and avowed supporters of Fascism in every country are the representatives of big capital, the Thyssens, Krupps, Monds, Deterdings and Owen Youngs.

Fascism, although in the early stages making a show of vague and patently disingenuous anti-capitalist propaganda to attract mass-support, is from the outset fostered, nourished, maintained and subsidised by the big bourgeoisie, by the big landlords, financiers and industrialists.¹

¹ See Mowrer, *Germany Puts the Clock Back*, 1933, p.117, for a characteristic report of a private conversation of a leading Jewish banker in Berlin who "to a somewhat bewildered gathering in a drawing-room in plutocratic Berlin unctuously explained how for years he had been a heavy subsidiser of the National Socialists." The financial backing of Hitler by big industry was already laid bare in the Hitler-Ludendorff trial of 1924 and in the Bavarian Diet Investigation Committee. "In later years the list of the alleged financial patrons of the National Socialist Movement became extremely long. Factory owners, managers, general counsel (syndici) were as thick as they might be on the subscription list of the Republican National Committee in the United States" (Mowrer, p. 144). Foreign supporters were stated to include Deterding, Kreuger and Ford. Paul Faure stated in the French Chamber of Deputies on February 11, 1932, that the foreign financial backers

Further, Fascism is only enabled to grow, and is saved from being wiped out in the early stages by the working-class movement, solely through the direct protection of the bourgeoisie dictatorship. Fascism is able to count on the assistance of the greater part of the State forces, of the higher army staffs, of the police authorities, and of the lawcourts and magistracy, who exert all their force to crush working-class opposition, while treating Fascist illegality with open connivance (banning of the Red Guard alongside permission of the Storm Troops).²

of the Nazis included the directors of the Skoda armaments firm, controlled by Schneider-Creusot. The reader should consult Ernst Henri's *Hitler Over Europe* (1934) for the most detailed examination of the financial backing and control of National Socialism since 1927 by the Ruhr Steel Trust elements dominated by Thyssen: "Thyssen persuaded the two political centers of German Ruhr capital, the 'Bergbauverein Essen' and the 'Nordwestgruppe der Eisen-und Stahlindustrie' to agree that every coal and steel concern had, by way of a particular obligatory tax, to deliver a certain sum into the election funds of the National Socialists. In order to raise this money, the price of coal was raised in Germany. For the Presidential elections of 1932 alone Thyssen provided the Nazis with more than 5 million marks within a few days. Without this help the fantastic measures resorted to by the Hitler agitation in the years 1930-1933 would never have been possible" (pp. 11-12). For the general policy, see the statements of the *Deutsche Führerbriefe*, or confidential bulletin of the Federation of German Industries, quoted in the next chapter.

² For the protection of Fascism by the lawcourts and police, and savage vindictiveness against all working-class defence, see Mowrer, *op. cit.*, Ch. xviii. For the same process in Italy, see Salvemini, *The Fascist Dictatorship*, Vol. I. Salvemini relates (p. 71) how in 1920 the Liberal Giolitti Cabinet, with Bonomi, the Reformist Socialist, as Minister for War, "thought that the Fascist offensive might be utilised to break the strength of the Socialists and Communists" and "therefore allowed the chiefs of the Army to equip the Fascists with rifles and horses and authorised retired officers and officers-on-leave to command them." The "March on Rome" was led by six Army Generals (p. 133). The pro-Fascist *Survey of Fascism*, 1928, admits that Fascism in Italy grew

Finally, has Fascism "conquered power" from the bourgeois state dictatorship? Fascism has never "conquered power" in any country. In every case Fascism has been placed in power from above by the bourgeois dictatorship. In Italy Fascism was placed in power by the King, who refused to sign the decree of martial law against it and invited Mussolini, to power; Mussolini's legendary "March on Rome" took place in a Wagon-Lit sleeping-car. In Germany Fascism was placed in power by the President, at a time when it was heavily sinking in support in the country, as shown by the elections.

The bourgeoisie, in fact, has in practice passed power from one hand to the other, and called it a "revolution," while the only reality has been the intensified oppression of the working class.

After the establishment of the full Fascist dictatorship, the policy has been still more openly and completely, despite a show of a few gestures of assistance to small capital, the most unlimited and ruthless policy of monopolist capital, with the whole machinery of Fascism mercilessly turned against those of its former supporters, who have been innocent enough to expect some anti-capitalist action and called for a "second revolution."¹

up "not without a certain toleration and even some assistance from high quarters" (p. 38). Mowrer confesses himself unable to understand why the pre-Fascist governments in Germany tolerated the growth of Fascism. "It is inconceivable that any German Chancellor, even a clerical militarist like Heinrich Brüning, should have allowed the constitution and training of such a force, armed or unarmed. Why he did so has never been satisfactorily settled—perhaps never will be" (p. 277). There is no mystery, no more with Brüning than with Giolitti, once the class realities of bourgeois policy and Fascism are clearly understood. In Germany, the officers who led the Kapp Putsch were never sentenced; a worker who shot a Kapp rebel was sentenced to fifteen years hard labour. Hitler, for his armed revolt against the State in 1923, was given a light sentence of detention, and released in a few months. The beginnings of the same process of discrimination by the lawcourts, with leniency to the early hoodliganism of the nascent Fascist movements and savage sentencing of workers' attempts at self-defence, are already visible in Britain.

¹The argument sometimes put forward that the elimination

Fascism, in short, is a movement of mass elements, dominantly petit-bourgeois, but also with proletarian and other oppressed working class, financed and directed by finance-capital, by the big industrialists, landlords and financiers to defeat the socialist class revolution and smash the working-class organisations.

of Hugenberg from the Nazi-National Government is a clear indication of a breach between the Nazis and Big Capital, and the defence of the latter, is a childishly superficial attempt to substitute the title of an individual for the really decisive social forces. Hugenberg was removed from the Nazi-National Government, not because he was a big capitalist, but because he was the leader of the National Party, and the completed Fascist system cannot tolerate the existence of two parties. Certainly, this reflects an undoubted and sharp division *within* the bourgeoisie, between the alternative methods of maintaining bourgeois rule, between the old traditional National Party mechanism and the new Nazi Party mechanism, to the necessity of which a great part of the bourgeoisie have only reconciled themselves with many misgivings and much anxiety for the future. But the Nazi method remains a method, although a hazardous one, of maintaining the rule of finance-capital. Finance-capital remains supreme, as was abundantly shown by the composition of the provisional Supreme Economic Council appointed under the aegis of the Nazi Government. Its leading members included:

Herr Krupp von Bohlen, armaments king; private fortune, £6,000,000; capital represented, £15,000,000.

Herr Fritz Thyssen, steel king; private fortune £6,000,000; capital interests German Steel Trust, £142,000,000.

Herr F. C. Von Siemens, electrical king; private fortune, £6,500,000; capital represented, £12,500,000.

Prof. Karl Bosch, Dye Trust millionaire; private fortune, £2,000,000; capital represented, £55,000,000.

Dr. A. Vögler, German Steel Trust; private fortune, £6,000,000; capital represented, £40,000,000.

Herr A. Diehn, director Potash Syndicate; capital represented, £10,000,000.

Herr Boehringer, director Maximilian Steel Works; capital, £1,500,000.

Herr F. von Schroeder, banker.

3. *The Middle Class and the Proletariat.*

This question of the role of the middle class or petty-bourgeoisie, in relation to the working class and to the big bourgeoisie, is so important for the whole dynamic of present capitalist society and the social revolution, that it deserves fuller clearing.

The controversy over the role of the middle class, or many and varied intermediate strata between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat (small business men, small and middle peasantry, handicraftsmen, independent workers, small rentiers, liberal professions, technical, managerial and commercial employees) is no new one. In the nineteenth century Marx had dealt very fully with the economic and political situation and tendencies of these elements. He had shown how these middle elements were increasingly ground between the advance of large capital and of the proletariat, with growing numbers from their ranks falling into proletarian or semi-proletarian conditions, he had shown their vacillating and unstable political role, now siding with the bourgeoisie and now with the proletariat, torn between their bourgeois prejudices, traditions and aspirations, and the actual process of ruination and proletarianisation at work among them; and he had shown how the proletariat should win the alliance of the lower strata of the peasantry and urban petty-bourgeoisie under its leadership in order to conquer power.

In the beginning of the imperialist era the question of the

Herr A. von Finck, banker.

Herr F. Reinhart, banker.

This glittering galaxy of the leaders of German finance-capital is sufficient proof of the relations of the Nazis and finance-capital. The subsequent further reorganisation of German industry, announced in March 1934, in twelve industrial groups, under the control of the principal large capitalists in each group, and under the general leadership, for heavy industry and also for industry as a whole, of Herr Krupp von Bohlen, has still more conspicuously illustrated this process of systematisation of Nazi rule as the most complete and even statutory domination of Monopoly Capital.

middle class was anew raised sharply to the front by Bernstein and the Revisionists in the last years of the nineteenth century and the first years of the twentieth. The Revisionists challenged Marx's teaching of the increasing polarisation of the middle strata and consequent increasing sharpness of the mass between capitalism and the proletariat. On the contrary, they argued that the middle class was growing, and pointed to the figures of income returns, property returns and bequeathing, to prove the growth of the middle class. (On this basis they denied Marx's revolutionary teaching, saw instead the increasing harmony of classes and democratisation of capital, and looked to the gradual peaceful advance towards socialism through capitalist reorganisation, social reform and State intervention.)

What the Revisionists really represented, as is now abundantly clear, was the growth of the "new middle class" of salaried employees of capitalism. In fact the process predicted by Marx was abundantly realised through the course of the nineteenth century. The concentration of capital went forward at an increasing pace. Large-scale capital pressed small-scale capital to the wall. The former small owners and independent workers became, as Marx said, "overseers and underlings." In this way a "new middle class" came more and more to the front, based on the increasing disappearance of the old independent small owners. This new middle class resembled the old in its two-faced position and outlook, between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, and its dreams of occupying an "independent" position above the class struggle; but it was already dependent for its livelihood on employment under large capital, and no longer primarily on its own property. Thus the development of this new middle class was in fact a stage in the process of proletarianisation, in the increasing divorce of the everwidening mass of the population from an independent property basis; and its lower strata began to draw closer to the proletariat and to the proletarian movement (beginnings of "middleclass" trade unionism, recruiting to social democracy). The distinctive outlook of this new middle class was typically expressed in England by Fabianism and the leadership of the Independent Labour Party.

Against the Revisionists, the Marxists were easily able to show, not only that the development of this new middle class increasingly replacing the old was in reality a phase of the process

of proletarianisation, but that further economic development was in turn affecting the position of this new middle class, and creating a crisis in its ranks and a new stage of proletarianisation. The overstocking of the professional market, the turning out from the universities and technical schools of increasing numbers beyond the possibilities of employment, and the cutting down of personnel through the further concentration of businesses, was already before the war creating a more and more sharp crisis of the new middle class.

This *crisis of the middle class* (both old and new) has been carried enormously forward in the post war period. The operations of finance-capital—inflation, currency and exchange manipulations, share-juggling, monopoly prices and heavy taxation—have played havoc with small savings and investments, and with the old stability of middle-class incomes. At the same time unemployment and redundancy in all the professions has reached desperate heights.

"Throughout the Continent," wrote Keynes in his *Treatise on Monetary Reform* (p. 16), "pre-war savings of the middle class, so far as they were invested in bonds, mortgages or bank deposits, have been largely or entirely wiped out." The German property valuation returns showed that the number of those owning from thirty to fifty thousand marks worth of property (£2,500 to £2,500) fell from over 500,000 in 1913 to 216,000 in 1925; owners of from fifty to a hundred thousand marks (£2,500 to £5,000) fell from nearly 400,000 in 1913 to 136,000 in 1925. Although, despite the disillusionment of the wiping out of their savings by inflation, the middle class began hopefully to save anew after stabilisation, the total of savings rapidly began to fall after the economic crisis, and is now threatened anew by the new wave of world inflation. In Britain, a marked decline in small savings is noticeable in the post-war period even before the world economic crisis. Thus while in 1909-13 the Post Office Savings Bank accounts registered a net increase of £12 million, in 1923-7 they registered a net decrease of £17 million, as well as a net decrease of government securities standing to their holders' credit by £18 million, or a total decline of £35 million; Trustee Savings Banks showed a net decline of £12 million; after allowing, against this, the net increase in National Savings Certificates in the same period by £14 million, there is still left a total loss in these main forms of small savings between 1923-7 of £33 million (*Economist*, February 23, 1929).

If the impoverishment of the small middle class and the enrichment of monopoly capital is thus a characteristic feature of the post-war period, even more so is the increasingly desperate situation of overcrowding in the professions. The economic crisis brought this situation to an extreme point.

In Germany, it was reported that of 8,000 graduates from the technical colleges and universities in 1931-2, only 1,000 found employment in their professions. According to a statement issued by the Prussian Minister of Education, of 27,000 teachers who completed their training in 1931-2, only 900 found posts. "Engineers have become mere wage-earners; while of the technical school engineering graduates only one in five found any job at all" (H.H. Tutman, *Slump*, 1932, p. 75.) R. Schaefer in *Die Wirtschaftliche Berufsnot*, 1932, reported that 45,000 graduated students were unemployed, and that this figure, it was estimated, would, in the absence of remedial measures, reach 100,000 by 1933. Here we can see a large part of the social basis for the desperate attitude of Fascism.

The impoverished and desperate middle class is driven from its former philistine slumbers into political activity. But this political activity takes on a new character. Whereas the Bernsteinian dreams had seen in the middle class a stabilising and harmonising factor in the social structure, wedded to liberalism and social reform, and smoothing over the antagonism of classes, the new dispossessed and ruined middle-class elements became an extremely unstable, violent force potentially revolutionary or, alternately, ultra-reactionary, without clear social basis or consciousness, but recklessly seeking any line of immediate action, which may offer a hope of immediate relief (relief from debt, State aid to small businesses, smashing the large stores, etc.) or the prospect of jobs (the new bureaucracy, mercenary fighting forces, displacement of Jews, war).

In what direction, however, can these middle-class elements turn their political activity? They can in practice only line up in the service of either finance-capital or of the proletarian. The myth of their "independent" role, of the "third party," is still endeavoured to be hung before them. The Liberal Yellow Book, characteristically enough, endeavoured to make much of "the third party in industry" as the force of the future. But these

dreams are soon shattered by reality. For the ownership of the means of production is decisive, and to this the middle class can never aspire. Either finance-capital, owning the means of production, can seek to make the middle class its auxiliary, giving a measure of employment, if diminishingly in production, then at any rate increasingly in the tasks of violent coercion of the working class (fascist militia, police-officer class, fascist bureaucracy). Or the proletariat, socialising the means of production, can at last give full scope to all the useful trained and technical abilities within the middle class in the gigantic tasks of social reconstruction. These are the only two alternatives before the middle class. The first is the line of Fascism. The second is the line of Communism.

The true interests of the majority of the middle class, of all the lower strata of the middle class, lie with the proletariat, with the line of Communism. Finance-capital is the enemy and exploiter of both sections. The line of Fascism of service with finance-capital against the working class, means in fact no solution for the economic crisis of the middle class; alongside privileges and rewards for a handful, it means intensified servitude, oppression and spoliation of the majority of the middle class at the hands of the great trusts and banks.

Where the working-class movement is strong, follows a revolutionary line, and is able to stand out as the political leader of the fight of all oppressed sections against large capital, there the mass of the petty-bourgeoisie is swept in the wake of the working class. This was the general situation in the post-war revolutionary wave of 1919-20. During this time Fascism could win no hold.

But where the working-class movement fails to realise its revolutionary role, follows the leadership of Reformism and thus surrenders to large capital, and even appears to enter into collaboration with it, there the discontented petit-bourgeois elements and declassed proletarian elements begin to look elsewhere for their leadership. On this basis Fascism is able to win its hold. In the name of demagogic slogans against large capital and exploiting their grievances, these elements are drawn in practice into the service of large capital.

4 *The Definition of Fascism*

Fascism is often spoken of as a consequence of Communism. "Reaction of the 'Left,'" declared the Labour Manifesto on "Democracy and Dictatorship" in 1933, "is displaced by triumphant reaction of the 'Right.'" With strikingly similar identity of outlook to the Labour Party, the Conservative leader, Baldwin, also declared: "Fascism is begotten of Communism out of civil discord. Whenever you get Communism and civil discord, you get Fascism" (House of Commons, November 23, 1933).

This picture is a fully misleading picture. Undoubtedly, the parallel advance of the forces of revolution and counter-revolution represents in fact the two sides of the single process of the break-up of capitalism; the continuous interaction of the opposing forces of revolution and counter-revolution was long ago described by Marx. But the inference attempted to be drawn from this that, if the working class follows the line of Communism, then Fascism will triumph, is the direct opposite of historical experience. The reality shows the exact contrary. The examples are now sufficient to make certain a generalisation beyond the possibility of dispute.

Where the majority of the working class has followed the line of Communism (the Soviet Union), Fascism has not been able to appear.

Where the majority of the working class has followed the line of Reformism (Germany, Italy, etc.), there at a certain stage Fascism invariably grows and conquers.

What is the character of that stage? That stage arises when the breakdown of the old capitalist institutions and the advance of working-class movement has reached a point at which the working class should advance to the seizure of power, but when the working class is held in by reformist leadership.

In that case, owing to the failure of decisive working-class leadership to rally all discontented strata, the discredited old regime is able to draw to its support under specious quasi-revolutionary slogans all the wavering elements, petty-bourgeoisie, backward workers, etc., and on the very basis of the crisis and discontent which should have given allies to the revolution, build up the forces of reaction in the form of Fascism. The continued hesitation and retreat of the reformist working-class leadership at

each point (policy of the "lesser evil") encourages the growth of Fascism. On this basis Fascism is able finally to step in and seize the reins, not through its own strength, but through the failure of working-class leadership. The collapse of bourgeois democracy is succeeded, not by the advance to proletarian democracy, but by the regression to fascist dictatorship.¹

We are now in a position to reach our general definition of the character of Fascism, the conditions of its development and its class-rule. This definition has received its most complete scientific expression in the Programme of the Communist International in 1928:

Under certain special historical conditions the progress of the bourgeois, imperialist, reactionary offensive assumes the form of Fascism.

These conditions are: instability of capitalist relationships; the existence of considerable declassed social elements, the pauperisation of broad strata of the urban petty-bourgeoisie and of the intelligentsia; discontent among the rural petty-bourgeoisie, and, finally, the constant menace of mass proletarian action. In order to stabilise and perpetuate its rule the bourgeoisie is compelled to an increasing degree to abandon the parliamentary system in favour of the fascist system, which is independent of inter-party arrangements and combinations.

The Fascist system is a system of direct dictatorship, ideologically masked by the "national idea" and representation of the "professions" (in reality, representation of the various groups of the ruling class). It is a system that resorts to a peculiar form of social demagoguery (anti-Semitism, occasional sorties against usurer's capital and gestures of impatience with the parliamentary "talking

¹ Reference may be made to the present writer's suggested definition of the conditions of the advance to Fascism, written in 1925:

"Fascism arises where a powerful working-class movement reaches a stage of growth which inevitably raises revolutionary issues, but is held in from decisive action by reformist leadership. . . Fascism is the child of Reformism" (*Labour Monthly*, July 1925). The subsequent events in Germany have abundantly illustrated the truth of this.

shop" in order to utilise the discontent of the petit bourgeois, the intellectual and other strata of society; and to corrupt, on through the building up of a compact and well-paid hierarchy of Fascist units, a party apparatus and a bureaucracy. At the same time, Fascism strives to permeate the working class by recruiting the most backward strata of the workers to its ranks, by playing upon their discontent, by taking advantage of the inaction of Social Democracy, etc.

The principal aim of Fascism is to destroy the revolutionary labour vanguard, i.e. the Communist sections and leading units of the proletariat. The combination of social demagoguery, corruption and active White terror, in conjunction with extreme imperialist aggression in the sphere of foreign politics, are the characteristic features of Fascism. In periods of acute crisis for the bourgeoisie, Fascism resorts to anti-capitalist phraseology, but, after it has established itself at the helm of State, it casts aside its anti-capitalist rattle, and discloses itself as a terrorist dictatorship of big capital.

Alongside of this may be placed the parallel analysis of Fascism in the Resolution on the International Situation of the same Sixth Congress of Communist International in 1928:

The characteristic feature of Fascism is that, as a consequence of the shock suffered by the capitalist economic system and of special objective and subjective circumstances, the bourgeoisie resorts to hinder the development of the revolutionary movement of the petty and middle, urban and rural bourgeoisie and even of certain strata of the declassed proletariat, for the purpose of creating a reactionary mass movement.

Fascism resorts to methods of open violence in order to break the power of the labour organisations and those of the peasant poor, and to proceed to capture power.

After capturing power, Fascism strives to establish political and organisational unity among all the governing classes of capitalist society (the bankers, the big industrialists and the agrarians), and to establish their undivided, open and consistent dictatorship. It places at the disposal of the governing classes armed forces specially trained for civil war, and establishes a new type of State, openly based on violence, coercion and corruption, not only of the petit bourgeois strata, but even of certain elements of the working

class (office employees, ex-reformist leaders who have become government officials, trade union officials and officials of the Fascist Party, and also poor peasants and declassed proletarians recruited into the Fascist militia).

The further characteristics of Fascism indicated in the above analysis, both in respect of its advance to power, and of its programme and practice after power, it will now be necessary to examine.

CHAPTER II

THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF FASCISM

On a superficial view the theory and practice of Fascism might appear to resemble closely Gibbon's famous definition of the theory and practice of the mediæval Catholic Church—"defending nonsense by violence." But in fact, as there has already been occasion to emphasise, there is a highly rational method in the nonsense, no less than in the violence. Behind the ranting megalomaniacs, bullies, drug-fiends and broken-down bohemians who constitute the outer façade of Fascism, the business heads of finance-capital who pay the costs and pull the strings are perfectly cool, clear and intelligent. And it is with the real system of Fascism in this sense, rather than with the imaginary ideology created to gull the innocent, that we are here concerned. The second, the professed fantastic ideology, is only of importance in relation to the first, the real working system for the maintenance of capitalism in conditions of extreme crisis and weakening.

1. *Is There a "Theory" of Fascism?*

The first illusion that requires to be cleared out of the way is the illusion that there is a "theory" of Fascism, in the same sense that there is a theory of Liberalism, Conservatism, Communism, etc.

Many intellectuals, while "deploring" the "excesses" of Fascism, allow themselves to be fascinated and drawn into elaborate speculative discussion of the "philosophy" of Fascism—and are soon lost in the Serboian bog of alternating "socialism," capitalism, corporatism, strong-man worship, high moral adjurations and platitudes, anti-alien agitation, appeals to "unity," glorifications of war, torture-gloating, deification of primitive man, denunciations of big business, idolisation of captains of industry, kicking of the dead corpse of the nineteenth century and "liberal-democratic humanitarian superstitions," exhumation of the con-

siderably more putrescent corpses of mercantilism, absolutism, inquisitorial methods and caste-conceptions, racial theories of the inferiority of all other human beings save the speaker's own tribe, anti-semitism, Nordicism and all the rest of it.

The innocent may solemnly and painstakingly discuss at face value these miscellaneous "theories" provided to suit all tastes. But in fact their importance is rather as symptoms and byproducts of the real system and basis of Fascism than as its origin and *raison d'être*. The reality of Fascism is the violent attempt of decaying capitalism to defeat the proletarian revolution and forcibly arrest the growing contradictions of its whole development. All the rest is decoration and stage-play, whether conscious or unconscious, to cover and make presentable or attractive this basic reactionary aim, which cannot be openly stated without defeating its purpose.

For this reason the real scientific theory underlying Fascism can better be studied in such a document as the *Deutsche Führerbriefe* or confidential bulletins of the Federation of German Industries, already quoted in the previous chapter (pp. 150-154), rather than in the propaganda statements for public consumption concerning its professed "theories" by the Fascist leaders themselves. The confidential statement of the heads of finance-capital defines plainly and without disguise the objective essence and purpose of Fascism as seen by its actual paymasters and controllers, and is therefore of primary scientific and theoretical importance for the real understanding of Fascism. Such a statement makes plain that Fascism is solely a *tactical method* of finance-capital—in exactly the same way as the support of democratic forms and of Social Democratic Governments was also a tactical method, either being supported with equal readiness according to circumstances—to defeat the proletarian revolution, to divide the exploited population, and so to maintain capitalist rule. All the propaganda "theories," mythological trimmings, supposed "new school of political thought," etc., only constitute a smokescreen to cover this aim.

We have already seen, in the course of the enquiry "what is Fascism?" in the fourth chapter, how empty and meaningless are all the infinite attempted definitions of Fascism by its leading exponents. The more these definitions are examined and analysed, the more they resolve themselves into a string of commonplaces and platitudes by no means peculiar to Fascism: "the common

interest before self" (basis of the German National Socialist Programme); "duty," "heroism," "the conception of the State as an absolute" (Mussolini); "an organic and historical conception of society" (Rocco); "a conception which leans neither to the Right nor to the Left," "the co-operation of all classes," "the co-ordinated development of all national resources for the common good" (Villari); "a high conception of citizenship," "the Modern Movement," "the faith of those who ever since the war have realised that the old system was dead and that a new system must be created," "the system of the next stage of civilisation," "the creed and morality of British manhood" (Mosley); "orderly government, national discipline," "co-ordinated progress," "a creed of justice and solidarity," "Social Christianity" (*The Blackshirt*); "a return to statesmanship," "the national observance of duty towards others," "less a policy than a state of mind" (*The Fascist*), etc., etc. These and the like windfilled phrases revolve without end through all the propagandist explanations of Fascism. There is, it is true, one professedly definite and specific content put forward, namely, the much advertised "Corporate State"; but further analysis in a subsequent section will show that this conception is actually as empty and hollow as the rest.

This vagueness and ambiguity of conventional common-places to describe its basic aims is not accidental in Fascism, but inherent and inevitable. This terminology is the standard vague and deceitful terminology of all capitalist parties to cover the realities of class-rule and class-exploitation under empty phrases of "the community," "the national welfare," "the State above classes," etc. It is the familiar terminology of a MacDonald, a Henderson or of Fabianism in the Labour movement to defeat the aims of Socialism and cover servitude to capitalists. It is the familiar terminology of a Baldwin or a Lloyd George, of a Tardeu or a Herriot, of a Hindenburg or a Wells. In the use of these threadbare clichés of capitalist politics to describe its aims Fascism differs not a whit from the other capitalist parties, from Conservatism, Liberalism or Labourism, all of which would readily accept all the formulas quoted above. By this identity Fascism not only reveals its theoretical poverty and emptiness, but also reveals its basic identity of aims with the other capitalist parties. Fascism differs from the other capitalist parties only in its *particular methods*, in its *practice*, to realise the same basic aims.

There is, in short, despite all the inflated claims and attempts to the contrary, no distinctive "theory" of Fascism in the sense of a distinctive, scientific system of doctrines and world outlook. There is only a practice: and, to cover this practice, a medley of borrowed plumes of any and every theory, principle or institution which may serve the purpose of the moment, often with the utmost consequent theoretical contradiction (e.g. in racial theories) between one Fascism and another. To mistake the borrowed plumage for the bird means to fail to understand the essence of Fascism. Or, to vary the metaphor, the warning may be addressed to those who seek in all innocence to study the highly "ideal" and "spiritual" explanations of the "theoretical basis" of Fascism, that to mistake the sheep's hide for the wolf means to reveal oneself in truth a sheep and fit prey for the wolf.

Fascism grew up in historical fact as a movement without a theory—that is to say, it grew up in reality as a negative movement (employing mixed national-chauvinist and pseudo-revolutionary slogans) in opposition to the proletarian revolution, and mainly distinguished by the use of violent and extra-legal methods against the proletarian movement. Only later, after over two years of existence, when it became clear that in order to appear fully dressed and equipped as a party and movement, it required to have a "philosophy," in 1921 the Fascist leadership gave orders for a suitable "philosophy" to be created. In August 1921, in preparation for the 1921 Congress, Mussolini wrote:

Italian Fascism now requires, under pain of death, or, worse, of suicide, to provide itself with a "body of doctrines.".....

The expression is a rather strong one, but I would desire that within the two months between now and the National Congress the philosophy of Fascism must be created.

(Mussolini, letter to Bianchi, August 27, 1921, reprinted in *Message et Proclami*, Milan, 1929, p. 39.)

"Within two months the philosophy of Fascism must be created." The new "philosophy" is ordered as simply as a waggon-load of blacksticks. The spirit of this is no doubt magnificent in the style of a Selfridge's or Whiteley's emporium, ready to provide anything at a moment's notice, including even a brand-new "philosophy" if desired. But it is not the spirit of a genuine or serious movement with roots.

In the same way we may note Hitler's explanation that a new "world-theory" was necessary as the sole means to combat the world-theory of Marxism.

Every attempt to combat a world-theory by means of force comes to grief in the end, so long as the struggle fails to take the form of aggression in favour of a new intellectual conception. It is only when two world-theories are wrestling on equal terms that brute force, persistent and ruthless, can bring about a decision by arms in favour of the side which it supports.

It was on this side that the fight against Marxism had failed up to that time. It was the reason why Bismarck's legislation regarding Socialism failed in the end in spite of everything, and was bound to fail. It lacked the platform of a new world-theory to establish which the fight might have been fought: for only the proverbial wisdom of high State officials could find it possible to imagine that the twaddle about so-called "State *ruhe rix*" or "order and tranquillity" are a sufficient inducement to fight to the death.

In 1914 a contest against Social Democracy was in fact conceivable, but the lack of any practical substitute made it doubtful how long such a contest could have been maintained successfully. In that respect there was a serious blank.

(Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, English translation, pp. 78-9).

Hitler, or the writer of this passage, is here perfectly correct in placing his finger on the weakness of the fight against Marxism. But his correctness is the correctness of a cunning tactician, not of a world thinker or historical leader. Marxism is strong and invincible because of its world-theory; therefore we must also create a world-theory in order to defeat it: such is the reasoning. Once again only the *negative* approach to Marxism dictates the ideology and the demand for it; Marxism remains the sole positive, dominating force. It is obvious that no world-theory comes into existence in this fashion, but only a *substitute* for a world-theory.

The sensation of a "new ideology" which intoxicates the more fanatical and emotional adherents of Fascism, giving them the illusion of a liberation from old superstitions and a new dynamic power, represents in reality no new ideology distinct from the general ideology of capitalism, but only the typical ideology of the most modern phase of capitalism, that is to say, the sharpened

expression of all the tendencies of imperialism or capitalism in decay, in the period of the general crisis. The contempt for constitutional and legalist forms, the glorification of violence, the denial of all liberal, egalitarian and humanitarian ideas, the demand for the strong and powerful state, the enthronement of war as the highest form of human activity—all these are the typical expressions of modern monopolist capitalism. They are not peculiar to Fascism; they are only expressed with greater brutality by Fascism. In the poems of a Kipling, in the Boer War agitation of a *Daily Mail*, in the war dictatorship of a Lloyd George riding roughshod over constitutional forms and driving to the aim of a "Knock-out Blow," the spirit of Fascism is already present in embryonic forms. And indeed Fascism grew historically out of war agitation, and under the guiding inspiration of the Army authorities, in both Italy and Germany.

There is nothing original or creative in Fascism. Not one single creative idea or achievement can be traced to Fascism. The critique of liberalism and of liberal capitalist democracy, with its hollow contradiction between the formal sovereign "citizenship" and the reality of wage-slavery is borrowed from Marx. But Marx's conclusion, which alone justifies the criticism by pointing the path forward to the stage when the abolition of classes will make the formal citizenship real, is omitted; for in Fascism the hollow contradiction between the formal "citizenship" and the reality of wage-slavery remains, just as in Liberalism, save with heavier coercion and subjection to maintain it.

The pseudo-revolutionary trappings, the sham staged "conquest of power," the new form of government based on a single party running throughout the entire population, is twisted, with servile imitation, from a caricature of the Russian Revolution, turned upside down. But even the caricature cannot be reproduced in the end; for, while the idea of a single party leadership is borrowed (but of an autocratic, not a democratic party), the key of the system, the Soviets or drawing of the masses directly into the work of government through their own elected organs from below, cannot be copied even in caricature; on the contrary, even the previously elected municipal councils have to be abolished and replaced by the arbitrary rule of the nominated Podesta or Prefect, or in Germany by the nominated State Commissary imposed from above and overruling even nominal elected forms.

The theory of economic state regulation of privately-owned industry and of class-collaboration in the "Corporate State," that is, of syndicated state-controlled capitalism with a dash of sham "labour representation," is borrowed from the entire modern development of monopolist capitalism in all countries. In particular, these are the typical theories of modern Liberalism and Social Democracy, with their "Organised Capitalism," "National Planning Boards," "National Economic Councils," "Joint Industrial Councils," and all the rest of the apparatus of theories and institutions which have developed continuously and increasingly in the imperialist era, and more especially since the war, before Fascism ever existed. Save for the peculiar executive methods of Fascism, all the essential formal theories of the "Corporate State" can be found exactly paralleled in the Liberal Yellow Book.

Finally, the national-chauvinist ideology, the anti-semitism and the racial theories are all borrowed, without a single new feature, from the stock in trade of the old Conservative and reactionary parties, as utilised by a Bismarck or Tsar Nicholas, and made familiar in the propaganda of the Pan-Germans or Pan-Slavists.¹

¹Modern Anti-Semitism developed from Germany and Austria in the eighteen-seventies, that is, as capitalism was beginning to pass from the liberal epoch towards the imperialist epoch. In 1873 appeared Marr's *Der Sieg des Judentums über das Germanentum*, or *The Victory of Jewry over Germanism*. "It is impossible to doubt," writes Lucien Wolf, former President of the Jewish Historical Society in England, "that the secret springs of the new agitation were more or less directly supplied by Prince Bismarck himself." It is worth noting that a "Christian Social Working Men's Union" (worthy forerunner of the National Socialist Workers' Party) was founded in this period by Stöcker, a Court Chaplain, which preached a programme of so-called "Christian Socialism," in practice Anti-Semitism, dished up with denunciations of financial corruption, and organised street riots and bloodshed. It was with reference to this movement that the elder Liebknecht spoke of Anti-Semitism as the "Socialism of Fools." The Anti-Semite agitation spread from Germany to Russia in the beginning of the 'eighties, again directly inspired and stimulated from above. "The modern Anti-Semitic element" writes Lucien Wolf "came from above. It has

The whole outlook and ideology of Fascism is in short nothing but a ragbag of borrowings from every source to cover the realities and practice of modern monopolist capitalism in the period of crisis and of extreme class-war. There is not a single creative idea. Capitalism in its time, in its early progressive days achieved a great constructive work, and carried enormously forward the whole of human culture in every field. The French Revolution spread a new life and a new understanding throughout the world, the outcome of which we can to-day be proud to inherit, even though we are to-day able to understand that its bourgeois basis inevitably set a limit to what it could achieve. The Russian Revolution opened a new era on a scale exceeding every previous change in human history, the full extent of which is still only beginning to be realised. But Fascism has produced nothing, and can produce nothing. For Fascism is the expression only of disease and death.

been freely charged against the Russian Government that it promoted the riots in 1881 in order to distract attention from the Nihilist propaganda. This seems to be true of General Ignatiev, then Minister of the Interior, and of the secret police." The conscious anti-revolutionary, anti-socialist and officially inspired character of the movement thus stands out in every case. In France, Drumont's *La France Juive* appeared in 1886, and the anti-Dreyfus scandal, promoted by all the high military and bureaucratic authorities with wholesale forgeries, dragged from 1894 to 1906. Only British Capitalism, which in its period of stability could make a Conservative Jew Prime Minister and ennoble Jewish millionaires in abundance, had for long no use for the primitive devices of Anti-Semite demagoguery; but to-day the signs begin to spread in Britain in close association with the spread of Fascism. Thus *The Blackshirt* (1933, No. 23) prints on its front page under the heading "Britain for the British: The Alien Menace":

"The low type of foreign Jew, together with other aliens who are debasing the life of this nation, will be run out of the country in double-quick time under Fascism."

Anti-Semitism, the typical degrading expression of a tottering system, is developed by Capitalism in its decaying stage in proportion as the class struggle grows acute.

2. *Demagoguery as a Service*

Bolshevism is knocking at our gates. We can't afford to let it in. We have got to organise ourselves against it, and put our shoulders together and hold fast. We must keep America whole and safe and unspoiled. We must keep the worker away from red literature and red ruses; we must see that his mind remains healthy.

(Al Capone)

The above quotation from Al Capone is a suitable introduction to the anti-Communist ideology of Fascism. The earnestness of this appeal of a thief and gangster to maintain existing society "unspoiled" in face of the Communist menace might appear at first blush comic; but in fact it is purely reasonable. None have more sincere concern and zeal than thieves to maintain the inviolation of private property, without which their profession would come to an end, and they would find themselves faced with the unpleasant alternative of having to work for their living. On the other hand, they cannot publicly proclaim the principles of thievery and gangsterism as the basis of their stand; for public purposes, they have to proclaim the most high moral principles, to maintain existing society "unspoiled" and to keep "the mind" of the worker "healthy."

This high moral tone runs through all Fascist propaganda and accompanies their gangster exploits. Nor should this be thought a contradiction; the two characteristics invariably run together in periods of decay. As Plechanov has remarked:

Marx said very truly that the greater the development of antagonism between the growing forces of production and the extant social order, the more does the ideology of the ruling class become permeated with hypocrisy. In addition, the more effectively life unveils the mendacious character of this ideology, the more does the language used by the dominant class become sublime and virtuous (see *Saint Max*). This shrewd remark is confirmed by what is going on to-day in Germany. The spread of debauchery disclosed by the Harden-Moltke trial proceeds hand in hand with the "revival of idealism" in sociology.

(Plechanov, *Fundamental Problems of Marxism*, English edition, 1929, p. 82.)

The process noted by Plechanov has gone considerably further

in Germany and in all capitalist society to-day. The fact that many of the principal leaders of German Fascism are not only notorious drug-finders and perverses, but express themselves in their writings with highly jocular gusto over their exploits of tortures of women and particularly revolting murders (see for example the *Ernstes und Heiteres aus dem Putschleben* of von Killinger, who was appointed by Hitler Commissar for Saxony and Minister-President), while in their programme they demand the protection of "the morals and sense of decency of the German race," is no contradiction, but only a further exemplification of the general rule.¹

The mystical and openly non-rational character of Fascist ideology and propaganda is only the inevitable expression of its class-role to maintain the domination of a doomed and decaying class. The present situation of world capitalism is in the highest degree irrational. It is not rational that food-stuffs should be destroyed, while millions are undernourished, that building workers should be unemployed, while housing becomes more and more overcrowded and inadequate; that the masses should have to economise and go short, because there is too much plenty; or that learned economists should discuss anxiously the "menace"

¹ "Von Killinger was made Commissar for Saxony and later Minister-President, and he consequently was in charge of 'Gleichschaltung' in this State. He had previously written a little book, *Ernstes und Heiteres aus dem Putschleben*, in which he recounts, among other incidents, how in the campaign against the Soviet Government in Munich he had a soldier whip a young 'wench' with a horsewhip 'until there was not a white spot left on her backside.' He also recounts how, after a Communist street agitator had made an impudent reply to a threat, he had a soldier toss a hand grenade at the man. He recounts with gusto the gory details of the man's death" (Calvin B. Hoover, *Germany Enters the Third Reich*, 1933, p. 113.)

Leaders of this type have invariably been given especially high position in German Fascism. Many similar exploits could be recounted of the notorious "Rasses" of Mussolini in Italy, of Finnish Fascism, of Hungarian Fascism, etc. This characteristic is a general characteristic of Fascism, and follows inevitably from the type of work it has to do.

of a good harvest or the "hopes" of a bad harvest. But all this is inherent in the present stage of capitalism. Therefore capitalism can no longer defend itself on rational grounds, as it used to do in its early days, when it argued that its system, though cruel, meant the maximum development of natural resources and the maximum material well-being. To-day such arguments are dismissed as low, materialistic, utilitarian, merely rational arguments unworthy of higher human nature, characteristic of the exploded nineteenth-century outlook and long replaced by twentieth-century "spirituality" and the "revival of idealism." To-day capitalism defends itself on mystical grounds. "Race," "the nation," "Christianity," "spirituality," "the mystery of patriotism," "faith"—this is the language of the modern defenders of capitalism, and, in particular, of Fascism.

Thus Mussolini, in defining Fascism, speaks with contempt of "doctrine" and exalts "faith":

Doctrine, beautifully defined and carefully elucidated, with headlines and paragraphs, might be lacking; but there was to take its place something more decisive—faith.

(Mussolini, *The Political and Social Doctrine of Fascism*, p. 10)

Gentile, the philosopher of Fascism, defines the Fascist State as "a wholly spiritual creation." Hitler defines the State as "nothing to do with any definite economic conception or economic development," but

the organisation of a community homogeneous in nature and feeling, for the better furtherance and maintenance of their type and the fulfilment of the destiny marked out for them by Providence.

(Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, English edition, p. 69.)

The British Union of Fascists, in its short definition of Fascism, declares:

We believe in the co-operation of all classes, in the solidarity of all units of a nation, and in justice. And in the mystery of patriotism. (*The Blackshirt*, No. 34, 1933.)

Bottomley in his wartime speeches and articles had many similar exalted passages.

This type of "ideal" "spiritual" language is the familiar language of all scoundrels, rogues, war-profiters, gangsters, Kregers, Al Capones, Morgans, MacDonalds, Mussolinis, Hitlers,

Romanoffs and all who live by plying on their fellow human beings and cannot face a plain, rational, materialist examination of their role and of the organisation of society.

On this exaltation of mystical "feeling" above reason—whether national "feeling," religious "feeling," racial "feeling," etc.—as the ultimate basis, Hegel (himself philosophically an idealist, but of a more solid type, and therefore by his system laying the groundwork for the subsequent dialectical materialism), wrote with incisive contempt in his *Phenomenology of Mind*:

By referring to his feelings, his inward oracle, he thinks he has a sufficient answer to those who do not agree with him he must declare that he has nothing more to say to those who do not share the same feelings—in other words, he tramples under foot the roots of humanity. For the nature of this is to seek agreement with others, and it exists only in the community of consciousness that has been brought about. The inhuman, the brute consists in being guided only by feeling and being able to communicate only through feelings.

"He tramples under foot the roots of humanity"—this pregnant saying applies to all the racial, mystical, non-rational, anti-humanitarian, anti-international ideologies of Fascism. And the result in every case is the same—to lead only to "the inhuman, the brute."

The truth is, the propaganda of Fascism is essentially demagoguery carried to its most extreme point of development. It might indeed be said that, if Marxism represented the development of Socialism from Utopia to science, Fascism represents the development of capitalist demagoguery from amateurism to science. Already before Fascism the precursors of the modern age, Northcliffe, Lloyd George, Bottomley, Hearst and others had done much to point the way and lay down the general lines and methods but these were still erratic and individualist in character, and never solved completely the complicated and contradictory problem of building up a reactionary mass movement, at once "popular" in form and anti-popular in content, Hitler expresses generously his gratitude to his predecessors, especially Northcliffe, Lloyd George and British wartime propaganda, which he acknowledges as his model that he learnt from, admiring its "psychological superiority", he admires particularly the idea of pretending to fight for "the freedom of little nations" as a far superior motive to "lead men

to their death" rather than telling them the real aims of the war; he praises Lloyd George highly as a "great demagogue," whose "primitiveness" is "proof of towering political capacity." But in fact Fascism was to leave these models far behind in its systematisation of playing on every backward feeling, instinct and ignorance in the population, in the unscrupulousness of its programmes thrown out to appeal to any and every section with a pretence of regard for consistency, and in the looseness of its sudden changes of front and repudiation of its own programmes.

What is demagoguery? The ruling classes will apply the epithet "demagogue" to every revolutionary leader of the masses who awakens them to the struggle to overthrow their oppressors, as realised at its highest in a Lenin or a Liebknecht. Such appellation is a glaring misuse of language; for the relation of the revolutionary leader to the masses is based on the strictest regard for objective truth, whether popular or unpopular, and the most consistent and unwavering prosecution of the interests of the mass struggle for liberation against all opposition, however powerful. Demagoguery, on the other hand, is the art of playing on the hopes and the fears, the emotions and the ignorance of the poor and the suffering *for the benefit of the rich and the powerful*. It is the meanest of the arts. This is the art of Fascism.

An examination of the programmes of Italian and of German Fascism will show the systematisation of this method, which is being painstakingly copied to-day by British fascism.

It is unnecessary to go into the earlier record of Mussolini himself, as when in 1910 he declared that "the proletariat has no fatherland, nor in truth has the bourgeoisie, in case of war we Socialists will not go to the front—we will raise insurrection within our own borders," or when in 1912 he denounced Bissolati for treason in having acclaimed the King whose servitor he was himself to become. This is only the common record of all the corrupt Western European Social Democratic politicians, of the Millerands and Briands, of the MacDonalds and Snowdens. It is more important to begin with the early programme of Italian Fascism in 1919-22 before power.

The early programme of Italian Fascism was, in the words of an official spokesman of Fascism, Professor G. Volpe (Professor of Modern History in the University of Milan), in the *Yearbook of the*

International Centre of Fascist Studies for 1928, "a nebulous programme at first...somewhat demagogic and revolutionary" It contained items of the following type:

Abolition of the Monarchy, Senate and Nobility.

Republic, and Universal Suffrage to elect a Constituent Assembly as Italian Section of the International Constituent Assembly of the Peoples.

International Disarmament and Abolition of Compulsory Military Service.

Confiscation of Church property.

Confiscation of war super-profits, and capital levy; abolition of the Stock Exchange and dissolution of limited liability companies and banks;

Land for the peasants.

Transference of control of industry to syndicates of technicians and workers.

Italian Fascism systematically applauded the occupation of factories by workers, food-riots, strikes, peasant land-seizures, etc. and called for the hanging of speculators from lamp-posts and similar measures.

It is only necessary to examine this programme of Fascism in comparison with its record in power to understand the meaning of demagoguery. In comparison with Fascism, the average "old gang politician's" record of election promises and subsequent violation is innocent child's play and almost honest by contrast. Political history in all its range from a Machiavelli to a Tammany Hall knows no parallel of brazen dishonesty to equal Fascism.¹

¹The examples of this record in every field are too abundant and commonplace to be worth detailed review. Thus on the question of Republicanism Mussolini wrote in the *Popolo d'Italia* on May 24, 1921:

"I shall not allow Fascism to be altered and made unrecognisable by changing from republican in tendency, as I founded it, and as it ought to remain, to a monarchical, nay more, a dynastic movement. Our symbol is not the scutcheon of the House of Savoy. ...It is not permissible to preach one thing and practise another." On the very next day, when the controlling capitalist and landed

The programme of German National Socialism surpassed that of Italian Fascism in unblushing denegacy. Even in the more advanced stage of development of Germany, it was necessary for Fascism to proclaim the aim of "Socialism." The Kampfs and the Thyssens, the Detendings and the Hohereckers paid out their money to spread the propaganda of "Socialism." The Twenty-Five Points Programme, adopted in 1920, and proclaimed by the 1926 Congress to be "unalterable," set out the full wing course among its miscellaneous medley of items:

Abolition of Unearned Income (11).

Breaking of Interest-Slavery (11).

Confiscation of all war profits (12).

Nationalisation of all trusts (13).

Profit-sharing in large concerns (14).

Confiscation without compensation of land for communal purposes (17)

elements in Fascism insisted on the withdrawal of this republican declaration, Mussolini at once obediently wrote (*Popolo d'Italia*, May 25, 1921):

"Fascism is superior to monarchy and republic. The future is uncertain, and the absolute does not exist. ... Those who would draw the conclusion that Fascism espouses the republican cause, and regards the setting up of the republic as a prime necessity, reveal a lamentable want of understanding."

On the question of religion Mussolini wrote on April 3, 1921:

"Fascism is the strongest of all heresies that strike at the doors of the churches. ... Away with these temples that are doomed to destruction; for our triumphant heresy is destined to illumine all hearts and brains."

In his Encyclopædia article on Fascism in 1932 he wrote:

"In the Fascist State religion is considered as one of the deepest manifestations of the spirit of man; thus it is not only respected, but defended and protected."

These examples could be continued indefinitely, and are only of importance as the demonstration that Fascism cannot be interpreted in terms of its own alleged political "theories," but only in terms of its service to finance-capital.

Death penalty for usurers and profiteers (17).

The last of these high-sounding "revolutionary" and "socialist" demands was left deliberately obscure. It is reported that two earnest students and devotees of National Socialism having approached Goebbels for an explanation how the famous Eleventh Point on the "Breaking of Interest-Slavery" would be accomplished received the reply that the only "breaking" likely to take place would be of the heads of those who tried to understand it.

"Interpretation" was, however, at a later stage brought into play in reference to one point, the Seventeenth Point on the confiscation of land without compensation. This demand had evidently caused alarm to the more stupid large landlords, who required an assurance in writing, while the more wily heads of big business and finance remained wholly unperturbed at the terrible Sword of Damocles hanging over their heads in the shape of the "Nationalisation of All Trusts," "Abolition of Unearned Income" and the "Death Penalty for Profiteers." Accordingly, the following explanatory addition was officially inserted in the "unalterable" programme in 1928:

It is necessary to reply to the false interpretation on the part of our opponents on Point 17 of the programme.

Since the National Socialist German Workers' Party admits the principle of private property, it is obvious that the expression "confiscation without compensation" merely refers to possible legal powers to confiscate, if necessary, land illegally acquired or not administered in accordance with national welfare. It is directed in the first instance at the Jewish companies which speculate in land.

This specimen exercise in official "interpretation" speaks volumes for the real character of the whole programme.

At the same time, occasional assurances had in fact also to be given to some of the more hesitating capitalists. An official letter of this type from the district party leadership in Dresden to a Weimar capitalist, who had hesitated to give financial support owing to the "anti-capitalist" propaganda conducted, and to whom it was officially explained that he should not be alarmed at the anti-capitalist "catchwords," since these were only adopted "for reasons of diplomacy," fell into the hands of the opponents

of the Nazis in 1930 and was published. The text of this indiscreet letter ran:

Do not let yourself be continually confused by the text of our posters. ... Of course there are catchwords like "Down with Capitalism!" etc.; but these are unquestionably necessary for under the flag of "German national," or "national" alone, you cannot know, we should never reach our goal, we should have to wait. We must talk the language of the embittered proletariat workers... or else they wouldn't feel at home with us. We don't come out with a direct programme for reasons of diplomacy.

(Letter of Dresden party leader to the industrialist, Haensch, in Weimar reprinted in Mowrer, *Germany Past and Present* (Black, p. 140.)

This illuminating letter makes further comment on the real meaning of Fascist "demagogy" and its purpose, superfluous.

3. *Capitalism, Socialism and the Corporate State*

Fascism differs from Socialism chiefly in this: that in the Corporate State you will be left in possession of your belongings.

("Fascism Calling.. to the Industrialists and Business Men."

The Fascist Week, January 1924, 1934)

Fascism endeavours to present itself as a third alternative distinct from either Capitalism or Socialism. To the workers Fascism insists that it does not stand for Capitalism. To the employers Fascism insists that it does not stand for Socialism. For its supposed distinct positive conception it remains extremely vague. Only after several years of existence Italian Fascism worked out the formula of the "Corporate State" to cover its aim. German Fascism worked out the formula of "National Socialism." Both these formulas are intended to represent the supposed "third alternative" to Capitalism or Socialism.

This supposed "third alternative"--the will o' the wisp dream of petit-bourgeois ideology ever since the development of Capitalism and the class struggle--remains a myth and can never be other than a myth. It is in fact nothing but a repetition of the old petit-bourgeois dream of a class-society without class-contradictions or class-struggle, but this time used to cover in reality the most violently coercive class-state and class-suppression. The "Corporate State" is in fact the transparent mas-

quadrant-dress of modern Capitalism, with developed state organisation of industry, and complete suppression of all independent workers' organisation and rights.

Economically, there can only be Capitalism or Socialism in the conditions of modern society based on large-scale industry. What is Capitalism? Capitalism is marked by (1) production for profit, (2) class ownership of the means of production, (3) employment of the dispossessed workers or proletariat for wages. What is Socialism? Socialism is marked by (1) common ownership of the means of production by the workers, constituting the entire society, (2) production for use. The current fashionable vulgar talk of all bourgeois journalists and politicians about "the disappearance nowadays of the line of distinction between Capitalism and Socialism" is only based on the confusion that Capitalism is identified with the old liberal laissez-faire relatively small-scale Capitalism or individualism of the nineteenth century, while Socialism is identified with State intervention. Hence the most typical characteristics of modern Capitalism or Imperialism, with the increasing role of the State in its organisation, are described as "Socialism," while the realities of wage-labour, profits and class-division are unchanged and even intensified. This muddle-headed confusion, which is common to all capitalist, Labourist and Fascist ideology, and is the breeding-ground for all the demagogic attempts of Fascism to conceal its capitalist character, becomes impossible as soon as the class-analysis of Capitalism is understood.

Fascism by all the above tests is economically identical with Capitalism, representing only a special method to maintain its power and hold down the workers. Fascism is profit-making society, is class-society, is society based on exploitation. Alike in Italy and in Germany, production is carried on for profit; the means of production are the property of a small minority, the upper strata of whom draw large incomes through their ownership; the mass of the workers are cut off from ownership, and work for a wage, producing surplus-value for the owners, or are left unemployed, if it is not profitable to employ them. All these are the familiar characteristics of capitalism in all countries, as are equally the crisis, depression, decline of production and mass unemployment. The Fascist countries show no difference from the other capitalist countries in any of these respects. Fascist Italy and Fascist Ger-

many are no better off than non-Fascist France and non-Fascist Britain (in fact worse off, but for reasons not necessarily connected with Fascism); they are all economically in the same boat, in the capitalist boat. The only contrast is provided by the line of socialist construction, the Soviet Union, with its crying need of employment and gigantic list of productions alongside the decline in all Fascist or other capitalist countries.

It is necessary at the outset to mention these very elementary facts, before examining more closely the specific economic institutions of Fascism, because Fascist propaganda, which is characterised by brazenness of assertion rather than any attempt at objective or scientific character, is so insistent on denying the capitalist basis of Fascism that it may easily confuse those who mistake words for facts. As this plea is at the heart of the economic apologies for Fascism, it will be necessary to examine more closely, first, the Fascist line of expression on Capitalism; second, the Fascist line of expression on "Socialism," as exemplified in "National Socialism," and, third, the positive economic principles and practice of Fascism, as exemplified in the Corporate State or in the German Labour Code.

The Fascist line of expression on Capitalism is marked by extreme self-contradiction. According to Hitler, there is no such thing as the "capitalist system." He writes:

There does not exist a capitalist system. The employers have worked their way up to the top by their industry and efficiency. And by virtue of this selection, which shows that they belong to a higher type, they have the right to lead. Every leader of industry will forbid any interference by a factory council.

According to Mussolini, however, in his speech to the Council of Corporations on November 14, 1933, the present crisis is "a general crisis of capitalism." He defines Capitalism as follows:

Capitalism in its most highly developed form is a mass production for mass consumption, financed nationally and internationally by anonymous capital.

Having thus brilliantly "defined" Capitalism in terms of "capital" (he is compelled to tie himself up in this way, for if he were to attempt to analyse capital, he would be compelled to lay bare the capitalist basis of Fascism), he proceeds to distinguish three periods of capitalism, the period of free competition from 1830 to 1870.

the "static" or "stagnating" period of the great trusts from 1870 to 1913, and the period of "decadence" since the war (here we have only a very confused and mangled borrowing from Lenin's *Imperialism*). He then poses the question :

The crisis which has held us in its clutches for four years—is it a crisis *in* the capitalist system or *of* the capitalist system?

And he reaches the answer that the crisis which has held "us" (Fascist Italy) in its clutches for four years is "a crisis of the capitalist system" (which Hitler says does not exist). But having reached this important admission, he then endeavours to argue that Italy is "not a capitalist country." Upon what does he base this argument? On the plea that in Italy there is a majority proportion of agriculture and small industry (as if this made any difference to the dominance of the capitalist class and of capitalist exploitation, which knows very well how to suck the labours, not only of the industrial workers, but also of the peasants and small producers). But if this structure makes Italy "not capitalist," this structure applied equally to Italy before Fascism, and Italy was accordingly "not capitalist" also before Fascism. But if Italy was "not capitalist" before Fascism, what was it? Again he can give no answer which would not undermine his whole attempt to present Fascist Italy as any different in its essential capitalist basis from pre-Fascist Italy. Finally he argues that, since the corporate system has admittedly failed to save Italy from the crisis of capitalism "which has held us in its clutches for four years," therefore the corporate system may be recommended to other capitalist countries to save them equally :

We come to the last question : Can the corporative principle be applied in other countries? There is no doubt about it. As there is a general crisis of capitalism, solution by the Corporate State seems to be necessary in other countries.

However, in that case he would need to show that "solution by the Corporate State" has applied to Italy, which has suffered as heavily from the capitalist crisis as any other capitalist country. But when the crisis broke on Italy in 1929-30, what was his line? Did he argue that "solution by the Corporate State" would save Italy? On the contrary, he argued that Fascist Italy was helpless to do any more about the crisis than any other capitalist country. In his speech of October 1, 1930, he declared :

The situation has grown considerably worse throughout the world, including Italy. . . . The State cannot perform miracles. Not even Mr. Hoover, the most powerful man in the world in the richest country in the world, has succeeded in putting his house in order.

"The State" (i.e. the Fascist State) "cannot perform miracles." It cannot hope to do more than other capitalist countries. Quite right, and very honestly said for once. But in that case what happens to the boasted superiority of Fascism and the supposed emancipation of Fascism from capitalism and its contradictions?

It is evident that we have here a mere tangle of confusions and self-contradictions (which could be endlessly further exemplified from the statements of all the principal Fascist leaders in all countries), without attempt at serious thinking. Let us now turn to the Fascist line on "Socialism." According to Mussolini, in his speech on January 13, 1934, "Socialism" is condemned outright as "the bureaucratisation of economy." According to German Fascism, "Socialism" is the ideal, provided it is "National Socialism." But what do they mean by "Socialism"? The definitions given by the leaders of German Fascism afford an instructive variety of choice.

The thirteenth point of the official party programme calls for "the nationalisation of all trusts." However, the official economic theorist of the party, Feder, explains in his Manifesto on the suppression of interest-slavery:

Every honest politician knows that general socialisation means economic collapse and the absolute bankruptcy of the State. Our watchword must be, not "socialisation," but "desocialisation." Goebbels in his *Little A.B.C. of the National Socialists*, states:

The Socialisation of all the means of production is absolutely unachievable.

Addressing a group of business men at Hamburg on December 15, 1933, Feder won their applause by declaring that "the State must not engage in business itself as a competitor," and adding, "Don't be afraid your enterprises will be nationalised."

Where then is the "Socialism"? Explanations are forthcoming in abundance. Gregor Strasser, speaking on the radio on behalf of the party on June 14, 1932, gave the following comprehensive definition:

By socialism we understand governmental measures for the protection of the individual or the group against any sort of exploitation. The taking over of the railways by the State, of the street-cars, power plants and gas works by the municipalities; the emancipation of the peasants by Baron von Stein, and the incorporation of the guild system into the State; the Prussian officers' system of selection by achievement, the incorruptibility of the German official; the old walls, the town hall, the cathedral of the free Imperial city—these are all expressions of German Socialism as we conceive and demand it.

"Socialism" after passing gently through the stages of gas-and-water Fabianism and an admixture of "guilds," thus comes to rest at last in the solid ground of "the old walls," "the cathedral" and "the Prussian officers' system."

Goebbels is still more explicit in his brochure *Prussia Must Become Prussian Again* :

Socialism is Prussianism (Preussentum). The conception "Prussianism" is identical with what we mean by Socialism.

And again in a speech in East Prussia :

Our Socialism is that which animated the lungs of Prussia, and which reflected itself in the march-step of the Prussian Grenadier regiments : a socialism of duty.

It is impossible not to recall Marx's comments on "German Socialism" (despite all the differences) nearly a century ago :

German Socialism recognised its own calling as the bombastic representative of the petit-bourgeois Philistine.

It proclaimed the German nation to be the model nation, and the German petit-bourgeois Philistine to be the typical man. To every typical meanness of this model man it gave a hidden, higher, "socialist" interpretation, the exact contrary of its real character. It went to the length of directly opposing the "brutally destructive" tendency of Communism, and of proclaiming its supreme and impartial contempt of all class struggles.

But this old "German Socialism," which Marx thus castigated, was by comparison the noblest-hearted idealism if set against the conscious and open filth of their "German Socialist" descendants of the twentieth century, the bootlickers of reaction and murderers of the workers, dressing up the hated Prussian, militarist, absolutist corpse as "Socialism."

It is obvious that the Fascist conceptions on "Socialism" are even less worthy of serious discussion than their conceptions on "Capitalism." It remains to consider their supposed "new" and "distinctive" programme : the Corporate State "the greatest constructive conception yet devised by the mind of man" (Mosley).

What is the Corporate State ?

The basic official document of principles, the Italian Labour Charter, published in 1927, lays down the following (§ 7):

The Corporate State considers that in the sphere of production private initiative is the most effective and valuable instrument in the interests of the nation.

Since private enterprise is a function of national concern, the organiser of the enterprise is responsible to the State for the management of its production. From the fact that the elements of production (labour and capital) are co-operators in a common enterprise, reciprocal rights and duties devolve upon them. The employee, whether labourer, clerk or skilled workman, is an active collaborator in the economic enterprise, a responsibility for the direction of which rests with the employer.

These principles are tolerably familiar in all capitalist countries.

The standard semi-official work on the question, Fausto Piugiani's "The Italian Corporative State" (P. S. King, 1933, written "in close contact with the Ministry of Corporations") declares :

The idea of the sovereignty of the State and of national unity is the primary motive underlying the Fascist theory of government. ...

Parallel to this unifying principle...there is to be noted another concept implicit in the State system which Fascism desires to build up, namely, the economic collaboration of the various categories engaged in production.

This new economic departure may be said to lie somewhere between Liberalism...and Communism. ...

The different categories of producers are represented officially by various Occupational Associations. ... These Occupational Associations, consisting solely of employers or of workers or of persons belonging to one or other of the liberal professions, are grouped in Corporations for purposes of protection and develop-

ment of some specific branch of production. These advisory bodies are organs of State, and they embody all the elements involved in a given branch of production, namely, capital, labour and technical direction. It is precisely from the character of these institutions—so distinctive a feature of the new political and economic order in Italy—that the epithet of "corporate" is derived, which serves to differentiate the Fascist State in its particular characteristics from other State types.

Paul Fanzig in his pro-Fascist "Economic Foundations of Fascism" (1933) describes the Corporate State as "a new economic system that differs fundamentally from Liberal Capitalism and Communism" :

In the Corporate State private property is respected just as in any capitalist country. There is no expropriation without compensation. The State reserves the right, however, to limit and guide the employment of the means of production, and to intervene in the process of distribution in accordance with public interest. It does not aim at owning the means of production any more than in a capitalist country. Private ownership is the rule, and State ownership the exception. Individual initiative is not superseded by State intervention. But the Government reserves the right to supplement individual initiative whenever this is considered necessary; to prevent it from developing in directions detrimental to public interest, and to guide it so as to obtain the maximum benefit for the community as a whole.

Mosley in his *Fascism in Britain* describes the Corporate State as follows:

Our policy is the establishment of the Corporate State. As the name implies, this means a State organised like the human body. Every member of that body acts in harmony with the purpose of the whole under the guidance and driving brain of the Fascist Government. This does not mean that industry will be conducted or interfered with from Whitehall, as in Socialist organisation. But it does mean that the limits within which interests may operate will be laid down by Government, and that those limits will be the welfare of the nation as a whole. To that interest of the nation as a whole, all lesser interests are subordinate, whether of Right or of Left, whether they be employers' federation, trade union, banking or professional interests. All such interests

are woven into the permanently functioning machinery of Corporate Government. Within the Corporate structure interests such as trade unions and employers' federations will no longer be the general staffs of opposing armies, but the joint directors of national enterprise. Class-war will give place to national co-operation. All who pursue a sectional and anti-national policy will be opposed by the might of the organised State. Profit can be made provided that the activity enriches the nation as well as the individual. Profit may not be made at the expense of the nation and of the working class. The Corporate State will secure that the nation, and the workers who are part of the nation will share fully in the benefits and rewards of industry.

The Corporations, it should be noted, are "advisory" bodies (Pitigliani). Control rests with the private employer in his enterprise, and with the State above him, as in all capitalist countries. The Corporations are joint-committees of employers' representatives and so-called "workers' representatives" (after the destruction of all independent workers' organisation). Only the "workers' organisations" recognised by the Fascist State, not those chosen by the workers, are admitted, the only legal requirement being that they should represent one-tenth of the workers in an industry to secure such recognition as representing all the workers in the industry. The functions of the Corporations (Article 44 of the Decree of July 1, 1926) are: (i) conciliation, (ii) encouragement of measures "to coordinate production and improve its organisation;" (iii) establishment of labour exchange, (iv) regulation of training and apprenticeship.

The purely nominal stage-dressing character of the Corporations is shown by the fact that up to 1934, twelve years after the establishment of the Fascist regime, not a single Corporation had yet been established, except for the amusement "industry" (in 1930).

The work will be done directly by the Minister of Corporations, and hence these largely nominal bodies will be not merely "organs of the State," as the theory demands, but really mere additional powers for present politicians. As a result, not a single corporation has been formally created.

(H. W. Schneider, *Making the Fascist State*, 1928).

In 1935 Pitigliani, in his semi-official work already quoted, in

the fourth chapter on "Corporative Organisation," coming to his third section under the grandiose title "The Corporations in their Actual Working," is compelled to write under that title (like the famous chapter on Snakes in Iceland) :

It is impossible to judge in the light of any practical results how the system is actually working in the corporative field properly so-called. Reference has already been made to the fact that only a single corporation, viz. that of the stage, has so far been established in Italy.

Not until February 1934 was the Law on the Constitution and Functions of the Corporations passed. On November 10, 1934, the twenty-two Corporations were inaugurated. On this occasion Mussolini declared :

It is as yet premature to say what developments the Corporative system may have in Italy and elsewhere from the point of view of the production and distribution of goods. Ours is a point of departure and not of arrival. Yet since Fascist corporativism represents the social content of the Revolution, it categorically obliges all men of the regime—wherever and however they are organised—to guarantee its development and fruitful continuance.

The vagueness of this language is worthy of a MacDonald.

What, then, does the Corporate State, as so far described in the terms of its own advocates, actually represent? Its principles, according to these descriptions, amount in fact to the following :

1. Maintenance of the class-structure of society, and of class-exploitation, under cover of phrases about "organic unity," etc.;¹

¹ The transparent deception, which is at the root of the "Corporate State," of maintaining class-division in fact and denying it *in words*, is strikingly expressed by Rossini, writing as President of the National Confederation of Fascist Syndicates on "The Significance of Fascist Syndicalism" in the *Yearbook of Fascist Studies*, 1928 :

"The conception of Fascist Syndicalism changes the outlook of all those engaged in industry, and takes from Socialism all that it has of value. Even the old terminology of 'masters' and 'men' is changing. The word 'master' has an offensive meaning and

2. Maintenance of capitalist ownership, "private enterprise," "profits," etc.;
3. Moderate State intervention or regulatory role, where necessary;
4. Compulsory conciliation committees or joint industrial councils of capital and labour.

But so far this is identical with the principles of all modern capitalist states. The cool efficiency of attempting to present this as something "new" is only based on the naïve trick of making the comparison with the long-ago defunct, pre-imperialist, "laissez-faire," capitalist epoch. Ever since the imperial epoch all modern capitalism has developed increasing state regulation and control, co-ordination and cartelisation under state guidance, and a

implies the servitude of labour, a servitude which is in direct contradiction to modern progress. The Italian scheme of Corporations brings about a much-needed co-operation between the directors and the executors of an undertaking, and is the only present-day conception which entails equilibrium and economic justice.

"It should be emphasised that it was these very Fascist organisers who were the first to insist that the old expressions 'masters' and 'men' should be abolished, and this because master implies servant. Nowadays we are no longer able to concur with the old absurd idea of class-distinctions, nor do we hold that there is by nature any moral inferiority between men. On the contrary, it is fully recognised that all men have the same right to citizenship in the national life."

It will be seen that the "absurd idea of class-distinctions" is regarded as solely a question of "terminology." Hence, while Socialism aims at overcoming the class-division of society by the abolition of classes and thus achieving for the first time real social unity, Fascism proposes a verbal liquidation of classes, while the reality remains. Employers and wage-earners remain; the whole system of profits and exploitation remains; but these are to be covered by the new terms "directors", "executors" of an undertaking (or in the German Labour Code, "leaders" and "followers"), and thereafter it is assumed that the class struggle should end. This is typical of the "idealist" outlook of Fascism—or, to speak more frankly, of its humbug.

hundred thousand experiments and devices in joint industrial councils and every other possible mechanism for the collaboration of capital and labour. As for the conception of industry as a "public service," and the approval of profit-making only in so far as it is consistent with "national welfare," it really does not need a Fascist "revolution" in order to be able to repeat the wisdom of a Callisthenes. The practical meaning of the Fascist "revolution" and its "Corporate State" lies elsewhere, as we shall shortly see.

Take, for example, pre-Fascist Germany, where the State already held in its hands one-tenth of industrial production, held the dominating shares in the big banks, in shipping and in the Steel Trust, and where industry and capital-labour relations were covered by a network of regulating councils. C. B. Hoover writes in his book already quoted:

Cartellisation had been carried to further limits than in any other country. In 1932 there were some 3,000 of these cartels. In the coal and potassium mining industry syndication was compulsory, and complicated regulating councils known as the Federal Coal Council and the Federal Potassium Council had been set up. Upon these Councils the operators, labourers, consumers and coal merchants were represented. There was a Federal Economic Council, but its regulatory functions had failed to develop.

This Federal Coal Council, based on compulsory syndication, representing employers, workers, consumers and coal merchants, with wide regulatory powers, was already a very much more developed "Corporation" than anything produced by Fascism. But this was only an advanced example of the tendency of modern capitalist development throughout the world. Here, Fascism brings nothing new.

"The idea of a National Council," writes Mosley in his *Greater Britain*, with the complacency of an infant peacock, "was, I believe, first advanced in my speech on resignation from the Labour Government in May 1930. The idea has since been developed by Sir Arthur Salter and other writers." The history of Capitalism since the war is littered with "the idea of a National Council" (i.e. National Economic Council or National Council of Industry) in every country. Clemenceau in 1918 proposed the formation of a National Economic Council, and the proposal only broke down on the opposition of the Confederation of Labour. Rathenau in

his new proposals for state organisation put in the centre the formation of a representative State Economic Council. Mollath in 1920 proposed the incorporation of a National Economic Council, including representatives of the trade unions, in the *Nationalrat*. Mollath made the same proposal in his *Ordnung der Wirtschaft*. The National Industrial Conference in Britain in 1919 put forward similar proposals for the establishment of a permanent representative National Industrial Council.

The whole trend of post-war Liberalism, Labourism and Social Democracy, in particular, is closely parallel to the Fascist line and propaganda of the Corporate State—the general line of combination of state control and private enterprise, co-ordination through a network of regulating councils, class collaboration and so-called workers' representation, in short, the whole myth of "Organised Capitalism." This basic similarity underlies the differences of tactical method in relation to the existing working class organisations and to parliamentary forms.

Nevertheless, there is a "new" and distinct feature in the Fascist Corporate State. All the Liberal-Labour proposals are based on the incorporation of the existing workers' organisations into the capitalist state, with the maintenance of the formal independent rights of organisation and the right to strike. The Fascist policy of the Corporate State is based on the *complete destruction of the workers' independent organisations* and the *complete abolition of the right to strike*. This is the *sole new feature* of the Fascist Corporate State, to which modern Capitalism elsewhere has not yet dared to advance, although developing in this direction as rapidly as it is able.

The Italian Law of Syndicates of April 3, 1926, the basis of the Corporate State, lays down in Article 18:

Employees and labourers who in groups of three or more cease work by agreement, or who work in such a manner as to disturb its continuity or regularity, in order to compel the employers to change the existing contracts, are punishable by a fine of from 100 to 1,000 lire.

The chiefs, promoters and organisers of the crimes mentioned above are punishable by imprisonment for not less than one year, nor more than two years, in addition to the fines prescribed above.

Here is the real heart of the Fascist Corporate State; all the

test is window-dressing. The meaning of this is expressed with simple delight by the financial publicist, Einzig, in his *Economic Foundations of Fascism* (a book written for the business public):

Strikes and lock-outs were outlawed from the very outset of the Fascist regime (p. 11).

In no country was it so easy as in Italy to obtain the consent of employees to a reduction in wages (p. 31).

Thanks to the establishment of industrial peace, wages in Italy are more elastic than in any other country (p. 73)

"In no country was it so easy to obtain a reduction in wages." Here is the essence of the Corporate State. Similarly Augusto Turati, Secretary-General of the Fascist Party, wrote in 1928 :

The year 1927 was one of widespread economic depression.... It was necessary for the Government of the Fascist Party to take steps with the object of bringing about a general reduction of wages from 10 to 20 per cent. ... It was then that the Labour Charter showed itself to be the one secure point of reference in the negotiations which followed.

In the ungrateful task of reducing wages, not one of the principles, solemnly enunciated in the Labour Charter, was violated.

(A. Turati, Secretary-General of the Fascist Party, on "The Labour Charter," in the *International Yearbook of Fascist Studies*, 1928).

And the prominent Fascist trade union official, Olivetti, declared at the Fascist Trades Union Congress in 1928 :

It was an illusion to presume that the existence of class-war had been finally abolished. It has been abolished... for the workers. On the other side, class-war is being continued. *

The German Labour Code, brought into force on May 1, 1934, reveals the same picture. Its essence is the wiping out of all the collective contracts which have hitherto regulated German industry, and the establishment of the absolute power of the employer, called "the leader of the factory," over his workers, called "followers."

In the factory the employer, as the leader of the factory, and workers and clerical employees as his followers, work jointly to further the aims of the factory in the joint interests of the people and of the State. The decision of the leader of the factory is binding on his followers in all factory matters.

In place of the previous elected works councils, the new factory councils are to be appointed by the employer in agreement with the Nazi leader in the factory, and to meet only when called by the employer. All collective agreements for industries or trades as a whole, or even for districts, are annulled; wages are to be fixed separately by each firm according to the conditions of "profitableness." The last word rests with the "Labour Trustees" or district dictators on all questions of wages and labour conditions, appointed by the Nazi Government. The character of these "Labour Trustees" can be judged from the fact that the big industrialist, Krupp, has been appointed "Labour Trustee" for the Ruhr area.

The destruction of all independent workers' organisations, the complete slave-subjection of the workers to the employers, the abolition of the right to strike, and intensified exploitation—this is the sole and entire reality of the Corporate State for the working class

4. *The Outcome of Fascism in the Economic Sphere*

Fortunately the Italian people is not yet accustomed to eat several times a day. Its standard of living is so low that it feels scarcity and suffering less.

(Mussolini, speech to the Italian Senate on December 18, 1930, *Corriere della Sera*, December 19, 1930.)

The principal reasoned claim put forward by Fascism on its own behalf, on the rare occasions when it descends from emotional chauvinist and spiritual verbiage to endeavour to make a reasoned claim, is that Fascism provides a solution of the economic crisis of modern capitalist society and ensures economic harmony, prosperity and progress. Fascism in its propaganda promises the solution of unemployment, rising production and consumption, higher wages, higher profits, and in general the end of all the contradictions of capitalism without ending capitalism.

The decisive test of this claim is the test of facts—the facts of the economic situation in every country where Fascism rules, and above all in Italy, the land of the "Corporate State," where the Fascist regime has had twelve years to show its results.

That the world crisis of capitalism has hit Italy as hard as any other capitalist country, with colossal unemployment, falling pro-

duction and trade, and lowered wages, so that Fascism has brought no immunity whatever from the common ills of capitalism, even the official apologists of Fascism are compelled to admit. But in fact the economic crisis hit Italy *before* the world crisis, while the rest of the capitalist world was enjoying a boom, and then became further intensified by the world crisis. The pro-Fascist Einzig writes in his *Economic Foundations of Fascism* :

Between 1926 and 1930 the depression prevailing in Italy presented a discouraging contrast with the prosperity of most other countries. But that prosperity has since been proved to be fictitious, so that we are now in a position to say that Italy has missed little by failing to share it. Moreover, during her period of depression Italy became hardened to face the subsequent crisis.

If this is the best that a supporter of Fascism on economic grounds can claim, it is scarcely an advertisement. The only "consolation" for the failure of Italy under Fascism to share in even the limited upward movement of other capitalist countries between 1926 and 1930 is found in the fact that in consequence even the world crisis could hardly make things much worse than they were already in Italy.

According to the League of Nations *World Economic Survey* 1932-3, the national income in Italy fell from 94 billion lire in 1928 to 60-70 billion lire in 1931, or a drop of one-third. In the same period in the Soviet Union, according to the same authority, the total income rose from 18.6 billion gold roubles to 31.2 billions, or an increase by two-thirds. Foreign trade in 1932 was less than half the volume of 1930; and the tonnage of goods cleared at the ports in 1932 was actually less than in 1913, when the population was six millions fewer. Italy keeps no general index of production, but the production of pig iron which was 603,000 tons in 1913, was 461,000 tons in 1932. The production of steel was raised to 2.1 million tons in 1929, but fell to 1.4 millions in 1932. 1933 saw a slight upward movement as in other countries, but foreign trade continued to fall from 15.1 million lire in 1932 to 13.3 million in 1933. The Budget deficit rose from 504 million lire in 1930-31 to 3,687 millions in 1932-3. The floating debt rose from 1,618 million lire in June 1928, to 8,912 millions in June 1933. Bankruptcies in 1931 reached the record in Europe, exceeding 21,000, or five times the British total.

The unemployment record is still more revealing. The total of industrial and commercial wage-earners was estimated in 1933 at 4,283,000, or about one-quarter of the British total. Yet the official return of wholly unemployed for 1932, merely stood at 1,018,000, and in January 1934, the latest figure available at the time of writing, stood at 1,153,000 in addition to about a quarter of a million returned as partially or seasonally unemployed. As for unemployment insurance, "the amount of unemployment insurance is moderate, even for the low standard of living prevailing, and it is paid only for a short period" (Lindsay, *Factors and Foundations of Fascism*). For forty weeks' contributions only twelve months' benefit is paid, at a maximum of 3.75 lire (£1.12 6d) a day; there is no transitional benefit. In December 1932, 1,982,421 registered unemployed, only 195,484 were receiving benefit. Between 1929 and 1929 the Unemployment Fund received 1,275 million lire in contributions from the employers and workers, the State contributing nothing, and paid out only 417 million. In benefits the State constantly raiding the Fund for its own purposes. Truly a halcyon state of affairs from the capitalist point of view, at which even the skinflints of the National Government might look with despairing envy. It may be noted that the social services expenditure in Italy is among the lowest of any leading country in Europe, amounting to 3 per cent. of the total national budget, as against 7 per cent. in Belgium or 9 per cent. in Britain.

The wage-cutting record gives the final stamp on the realities of Fascist economics. Between 1929 and 1932 the total pay-roll of wages and salaries fell from 6,040 million lire to 4,100 millions (*World Economic Survey* 1932-3). In the same period, according to a Report of the Director of the International Labour Office in June 1933, "the purchasing-power of the wage-earners fell by 19 per cent." Cuts had been heavy already before the world crisis:

Between June 1927 and December 1928, wages fell by about 20 per cent. as a result of agreements between masters and men in connection with the stabilisation of the lira. A further drop of approximately 10 per cent. took place in 1929, and in November 1930 there was a general downward movement, in some cases not exceeding 18 per cent, but in particular instances involving as much as 25 per cent. Moreover we must not overlook the fact that many other adjustments were made in 1931.

(Biagi, Secretary of the National Confederation of Fascist Syndicates, *Corriere della Sera*, March 26, 1932).

This makes successive cuts, first of twenty per cent., then of 10 per cent., then of 18-25 per cent., in addition to "many other adjustments." The Department of Overseas Trade Report on *Economic Conditions in Italy* 1933, states:

While the cost of living with an index figure of 93.78 in 1927 has fallen in 1932 to 78.05, a difference of 15.73 per cent., industrial wages have been reduced by much larger proportions....

Cuts have been made ranging from 16 to 18 per cent. in the sheltered printing and woodworking trades, 25 per cent. in the metal and chemical industries, to 40 per cent. in the cotton industry....

To the above must be added arbitrary reductions affected by various means without negotiation, such as the re-grading of work-staff and the systematic reduction of piece-work rates.

Examples are given of the percentage cuts in the various industries :

Chemicals ..	20-25%	Silk Weaving	38%
Rayon ..	20 ⁶ / ₁₀	Jute	30%
Rayon (Turin)	38 ⁶ / ₁₀	Metal trades	23%
Glass ..	30-40%	Building ..	30%
Cotton ..	40%	Mining ..	30%
Wool ..	27%		

This process has been carried still further with the extensive all-round wages and salaries cuts proclaimed by Government Order in April, 1934. The importance of the Fascist "Corporate" system, making strikes a penal offence, is obvious.

If we turn to Germany, it is clear that one year's experience is not yet sufficient to achieve the imposing completeness of the Italian results in depressing the conditions of the workers and spreading poverty; but the signs of the direction are already abundant.

Foreign trade in 1933 fell by 13 per cent. in comparison with 1932, exports by 16 per cent. and the export surplus by 40 per cent. The volume of production rose by 12 per cent; but this rise was mainly in industries (iron and steel, dyes and chemicals, artificial silk, electro-technical, motors) connected with war needs, and

was actually accompanied, as will be seen, by a fall in the general standard of living. The rise in output was not accompanied by any rise in the total pay-roll until the third quarter. "This means that fresh employment was only found at the expense of those already occupied, by cutting down their hours of work and reducing their wages accordingly" (*Economist*, December 30, 1933).

Retail sales, the measure of internal trade and of the standard of living, fell heavily, even compared with the low level of 1932.

Retail sales of the first ten months of 1933 were 8 per cent. below those of the very depressed corresponding period of 1932, department store sales declining 20 per cent. on a like comparison, and later reports indicate substantial further decline.

(New York *Analyst*, January 19, 1934.)

This reflects a lowered standard of life. The German Institute for Economic Research reported a decline of 10 per cent. in the consumption of the principal foodstuffs during the first and second quarters of 1933, in some articles of even 30 per cent., and "stabilisation" at this lower level in the third quarter. For the whole of 1933 it reported a decline of 7 per cent. in the turnover of retail commodities, compared with 1932. Prices rose steadily, especially of foodstuffs, through special legislation, e.g. the Fat Monopoly and raising of the price of margarine by 175 per cent., the raising of the price of wheat to 182 marks per ton or four times the world price, etc.

Nazi propaganda tries to make much of the rise in the volume of production by 12 per cent. during 1933, and of the decline in the official figure of registered unemployed by 2 millions (on the previous 6 millions (actually by 1.7 millions from 5,773,000 in December 1932, to 4,058,000 in December 1933)). Both claims are misleading. The rise in production was, as explained in great part connected with the war industries. It was not a rise peculiar to Germany, but was part of a world movement during the same period. Between January and December, 1934, the German index of industrial production (on the basis of 1928 as 100) rose from 62.9 to 72.8, the United States index from 58.6 to 67.6, the French from 78.7 to 83.5, the Japanese from 117.2 to 139.4 (November), the Canadian from 52.8 to 72.2, the Swedish from 83.7 to 97.1 (League of Nations Monthly Bulletin of Statistics, March 1934).

The figures of the alleged decline in unemployment are still more misleading. The official figure is given of a decline in the registered unemployed from 6,014,000 in January 1933, to 3,715,000 in November 1933, and to 2,798,000 in March, 1934. But the total of employed Workers in November 1933, according to the health insurance statistics, was 14,020,000, making with the 3,715,000 registered unemployed a combined total of 17,735,000 workers. In August 1929, that is, before the crisis, the same combined total of employed and unemployed workers numbered 20,400,000. Thus, since 1929, 2.3 million workers have dropped clean out of the German official statistics, being neither entered as employed, nor as unemployed—alongside an increase in population! "The actual number of unemployed is admitted to be considerably larger than the number registered. The 'invisible unemployed' are now reckoned at about 1,500,000" (*Manchester Guardian Weekly*, January 12, 1934). "Most signs tend to show that the volume of unrecorded unemployment has increased" (*Economist*, March 3, 1934).

This contradiction was strikingly brought out when in March, 1934, the official figure for unemployment was returned at 2,798,000, and in the very same month Hitler, momentarily forgetful of the official figure, in his speech at Munich on March 21, spoke of the necessity during the coming year to endeavour to bring into employment 5,000,000 of those at present unemployed.

The official decline in registered unemployed in fact reflects a series of factors. Married women have been driven out of industry without being registered as unemployed, consequent on the Nazi law forbidding the employment of married women where their husbands are employed, and thus disappear from the official records. The same applies to the prisoners in concentration camps, and to the Jewish and political refugees. Several hundreds of thousands of workers (estimated at 680,000—*Basel Rundschau*, November 18, 1933), have been drafted into the militarised Labour camps, agricultural service and other works schemes, and are thus counted as "employed," but in fact receive no normal wage, but either only food and a few marks a week or a very low subsistence allowance equivalent to unemployment relief. Finally throughout industry, by a series of devices offering inducements for this process to employers, workers have been given part-time work by spreading existing work, with reduced hours and weekly wages, that is, at the expense of other workers, and of a general

lowering of standards. On the whole process the British financial journal, *The Statist*, comments, with reference to Hitler's dinner speech to the Reichstag:

As regard economic affairs he had not very much to say, perhaps because there is not much to report. He claimed, as the figures show, a reduction in unemployment of 24 million, which at 3.7 millions. But this is obviously not a reliable guide to the trend of industrial conditions, since, apart from labour mobilisation in labour camps and concentration camps, the effect of the tax certificate system has been to spread employment out over the work available rather than to succeed in creating new work. There has, however, been some improvement in production, particularly in iron and steel, in 1933 as compared with 1932, and doubtless this has meant some real decrease in unemployment. The improvement in employment is therefore only partly due to a net increase in the demand for labour, and it arises mainly from spreading out employment. This may be a good thing psychologically, but economically it results in lower wages and even in lower real wages. In addition to this lowering of the standard of living, there must be counted the numerous "voluntary" contributions which have to be deducted from the weekly wages. It is possible as a result that the beneficial political effect of spreading employment may be lost in the lowering of the standard of living, and probably for this reason Herr Hitler did not devote much of his speech to economic affairs.

(*Statist*, February 3, 1934.)

This process of effective wage-reduction and lowering of the standard of living, already revealed in the statistics of falling consumption during 1933, is further borne out by the available information on the movement of wages. The official statistics claim that the total of wages plus salaries for the third quarter of 1933 exceeded the corresponding total for 1932 by 4 per cent., alongside an increase in the number employed by 7 per cent.; it is obvious that even these figures, which do not take into account the heavily increased deductions from wages, nevertheless betray a net reduction in the wage per worker. It may be noted that the total return from the tax on wages, which reached 65 million marks for the monthly average in 1932, fell to 61.3 millions in July 1933, and 59.6 millions in August 1933—the very period of the "supposed" "increase."

Lehrer für Nationalökonomie und Statistik, December, 1933.) A correspondent in the *Manchester Guardian* reports:

Wages fell considerably in Germany in 1932, and there was a further fall last year. At present the average hourly wage is about 20 per cent. lower than in 1931.

The fall in wages has been accompanied by a great increase in the deductions for income tax, unemployment insurance, sickness insurance, etc., which have more than doubled. In 1932 these deductions amounted to between 12 and 13 per cent. of the wages. They now amount to nearly 27 per cent., including "voluntary" contributions...which are voluntary only in name.

According to calculations made by a very competent statistician, the net average wage of workmen employed in German industry last September was 21 65 marks a week. ...If agricultural workers were included, the average net wage would be much lower.

The "real wages" (purchasing power) of the German industrial workers have fallen since April rather more than the money wages, as general prices, which in the first four months of last year were lower than the average of 1932, have risen about 3 per cent. since April, and prices of primary necessities have risen about 10 per cent. The average real wage in September 1933, was about 31 per cent. lower than in 1900.—(*Manchester Guardian Weekly*, January 12, 1934).

On April 9 Dr. Ley, head of the "Labour Front," declared in a speech at Cologne that the German worker "to some extent was being paid starvation wages in the interest of the reconstruction of the nation," but that he must, while the State "was finding bread and work for 7,000,000 unemployed, renounce wage increases and such like things."—(*Times*, April 10, 1934.)

This is already before the Labour Code, with its abrogation of all existing collective contracts, came into force on May 1, 1934.

It is sufficiently clear that the economic process of Fascism in Germany goes the same path as in Italy, the path of the extreme depression of the standards of the workers and intensification of exploitation. The lesson of facts in Italy and Germany should put all on their guard against the empty

economic promises and programmes of Fascism before power in Britain and other countries.

5. *Fascism and War*

Fascism believes neither in the possibility nor the utility of perpetual peace. ... War alone brings up to its highest tension all human energy and puts the stamp of nobility upon the people who have the courage to meet it.

(Mussolini, "*The Political and Social Doctrine of Fascism*,")

In eternal warfare mankind has become greater; in eternal peace mankind would be ruined."—(Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, p. 129.)

The chauvinistic warlike character of fascism is its most obvious external characteristic. The war-role of Fascism can, however, only be correctly understood in relation to its general social role as the expression of the extreme stage of imperialism in break-up.

On the question of Fascism and war very much nonsense has been written.

On the one hand, bourgeois critics of Fascism in Western Europe and America express their shocked indignation at it Fascist Germany and Fascist Italy were the first and only countries to go in for jingoism, wholesale war incitement and war-preparation, and as if England, France and the United States were innocent angels of peace.

On the other hand, supporters of Fascism in these countries endeavour to accept at face-value the transparently hypocritical "peace speeches" occasionally turned out by the Fascist leaders for foreign consumption, in open and glaring contradiction to their main utterances, and seek to soothe an alarmed public with fanciful reassurances, as if Fascism were really a doctrine of world peace.

Both these lines of treatment are an absurd flying in the face of facts.

Because Fascism is the leading expression of modern imperialism, of capitalism in decay, of the most violent policies of capitalism in crisis, therefore necessarily Fascism means war. Fascism, with its violent suppression of all socialist, pacifist and internationalist agitation, with its militarisation of labour and

centralised dictatorship, as well as with its ceaseless sabre-rattling agitation, is a direct part of capitalist war preparation. Its methods and policies reproduce *the conditions of a country at war*, as seen in all the belligerent countries in the last war, but *already in the pre-war period*. In the same way the final outcome of all the policies of Fascism, of all its chauvinist, nationally exclusive, aggressive and domination-seeking policies, can only be war, as indeed its leaders in all their principal and most authoritative utterances to their own followers openly declare.

But these tendencies are not peculiar to Fascism. They are common, in greater or less degree, to all imperialist states. They only receive their most extreme expression in Fascism.

Fascism in Britain, where there is no such immediate easy basis for war agitation as Versailles provided in Germany and also in Italy, and where mass anti-war feeling is strong, endeavours to hide for the moment the war-role of Fascism and even to put on a pacifist dress and present Fascism as a doctrine of world peace. Thus Mosley writes :

Fascist organisation is the method of world peace among nations bound together by the universal Fascism of the twentieth century.

(Mosley, *Fascism in Britain*, p. 7.)

This blatant attempt to throw dust in the eyes of the credulous is exposed by the entire propaganda of Fascism. Mosley, who professes to proclaim the aim of "world peace" through Fascism, will need to fight it out with his masters, Mussolini and Hitler, who denounce in round terms the whole conception of world peace as incompatible with Fascism. "Fascism," proclaims Mussolini, "believes neither in the possibility nor the utility of perpetual peace." "In eternal peace," proclaims Hitler, "mankind would be ruined." "Fascism issued from war," writes the Fascist, Carl, "and in war it must find its outlet." This is the dominant voice of Fascism. The temporary pretence of British Fascism to put on a peace advocate's dress is only a typical example of Fascist demagoguery.

International Fascism is a contradiction in terms. The foreign policies of Fascist states can only be the foreign policies of extreme aggressive imperialist states, with all the consequent antagonisms heightened to the most extreme point. The

identity of counter-revolutionary policy produced a uniformity of foreign policy. This is strikingly illustrated, as shown in the first three fully completed Fascist states, Germany, Italy and Austria have come into existence, by the extreme tension immediately following, even to the point of actual war threats, between Fascist Germany and Fascist Italy over the body of Fascist Austria. The conception of a bloc of Fascist States on the basis of a common policy of Fascism is a myth; an alliance between such States can only be formed where in conformity of immediate aims of the foreign policy of the respective groupings concerned would have in any case made an alliance possible, whatever the political form. But if the Fascist type became generalised for all the leading imperialist Powers, this would only mean an immediate accentuation of the armaments and hastening of the advance to war.

The extreme intensity of war-preparations and incitement of the war spirit in Fascist Germany and Fascist Italy has been equally noted by observers of all political colour. For the evidence of the developments in Germany, especially, reference may be made to Wickham Steed's *Hitler: What and Where?* to the American journalist Island Stowe's *Next Germany: About War*, and to Ernst Henri's *Hitler Over Europe*.

The question of the degree of closeness of open war measures by Fascist Germany or Fascist Italy lies in the future. While the worsening economic situation may hasten events, it is clear that the immediate aim is to gain time in order to cover the necessary process of re-armament. Unless the situation is precipitated by unexpected events, a preliminary period is sought for the necessary heavy war-preparations, as well as for the diplomatic preparation of a favourable situation. The present balance of power is unfavourable to Germany, and the position of Italy is also weak. But there is no question of the goal to which policy is being directed. As Hitler's *Mein Kampf* and Mussolini's speeches make abundantly clear, the full aims of the Fascist programme of territorial and colonial expansion can only be finally achieved by war.

England, France and the United States, whose statesmen and publicists indulge in expressions of shocked surprise at the militarism of Fascist Germany or of Japan, are in fact far more

heavily armed than Germany, Italy or Japan, spend more on armaments, and have bigger records of plunder and armed violence all over the world. But the difference in the present situation of these two sets of Powers (which partly accounts also for the more rapid development of Fascist forms in the latter group) lies in the fact that England and France (the position of the United States, owing to its special continental situation, is in a category by itself and shares characteristics with both groups) are relatively "sated" imperialist groups, gorged with world-plunder and seeking above all to hold what they have, therefore strongly interested in questions of "security," while Germany, Italy and Japan are "hungry" imperialist Powers, without an equivalent share in the partition of the world proportionate to their strength or potential strength, and therefore intent on an aggressive policy of expansion. This is the working of the law of unequal capitalist development which underlay the last war and drives to the next.

What, however, is conspicuous in the present international situation is the relative complacency and even conciliatory attitude with which England, the United States, and even to some extent France, treat the question of the re-armament of Germany. Where before the slightest diffident requests of Weimar Germany were met with angry refusals and threats of sanctions, the open violation of Versailles and blustering demands for re-armaments by Fascist Germany are met with anxiously polite and sympathetic consideration. The only question becomes, not whether re-armament shall be agreed, but how far and to what point re-armament shall be agreed. The "Disarmament" Conference dissolves into negotiations for re-armament. At the same time the simultaneous anxiety of the Western Powers, lest German re-armament go too far, reveals the profoundly contradictory character of the present situation of imperialism.

What underlies this change of attitude on the part of the Western Powers, which might at first sight seem contrary to the interests of British and French Imperialism, and which indeed arouses criticism from strong sections of opinion within these? Two dominating factors can be traced.

The first is the recognition of Fascism as the bulwark against

social revolution, and the anxiety not to weaken in any way the position of Fascism and thereby open the way to the fall of the Hitler Government and to the proletarian revolution in Germany. This fear, as a study of the French semi-official Press makes clear, paralyses the French desire to make use of the threat of sanctions or of a "preventive war" in order to strangle re-emergence of the full armed strength of Germany. As Lloyd George frankly declared in his speech on September 22, 1933:

If the powers succeeded in overthrowing Nazism in Germany, what would follow? Not a Conservative, Socialist or Liberal regime, but extreme Communism. Surely that could not be their objective. A Communist Germany would be infinitely more formidable than a Communist Russia. The Germans would know how to run their Communism effectively. That was why every Communist in the world from Russia to America was praying that the Western nations should bully Germany into a Communist revolution. He would entreat the Government to proceed cautiously.

(*Time*, September 25, 1933.)

The National Government needed no such entreaties, but has acted throughout as the broker for Fascist Germany.

The second factor is the widespread hope of imperialist circles, especially in Britain, to use a re-armed Fascist Germany, in unity with Japan, for war on the Soviet Union. The objective of an expansionist war to the East, directed against the Soviet Union, and with the support, if possible, of Britain, France and Poland, is continuously expressed in all official statements of Nazi foreign policy, notably in Hitler's *Mein Kampf*, in the writings of Rosenberg, the official chief of the Nazi foreign political department, whose line is fully and openly set out in his book *The Future Path of a German Foreign Policy* (*Der Zukunftsweg einer Deutschen Ausserpolitik*), and also in the formally withdrawn Hugenberg memorandum.

Hitler writes :

For Germany the only possibility for the carrying out of a sound territorial policy lay in the winning of new land in Europe itself. ... When one would have territory and land in Europe, this could in general only happen at the cost of Russia.

(*Mein Kampf*, pp. 153-4.)

We stop the eternal march to the south and west of Europe and turn our eyes towards the land in the East. ... If we speak of land in Europe to-day we can only think in the first instance of Russia, and her border States.—(*Mein Kampf*, p. 743.)

The American publicist, Calvin Hoover, reports the following as his impression of the prevailing tendencies in the event of a possible agreement between Western Europe and Fascist Germany :

In such a case the Western European Powers might be glad to allow Germany a free hand in the Slavic East and South for the satisfaction of any further expansionist aims. ...

There is evidence that the idea of the "reorganisation and restoration of Russia" under German tutelage is again very much to the fore.

(Hoover, *Germany Enters the Third Reich*, pp. 226-7.)

British imperialism above all encourages up to the present with moral and material support both Germany and Japan, and influential circles hope for a combined attack of both Powers on the Soviet Union. At the same time German-Japanese relations are drawn extremely close.

It is unnecessary here to discuss the powerful resistance which such an attempt would meet, not only from the Soviet Union, but from the whole international working class, leading to the unleashing of revolutionary struggle and civil war above all in Germany itself. Just this prospect leads the imperialist and Fascist forces still to hesitate.

The final direction of Fascist war still lies in the womb of events. What is already manifest is that the advance of Fascism has enormously accelerated the advance to war on every side.

6. *Fascism and the Women's Question*

In no direction does the contrast of the two worlds of Fascism, or Capitalism in extreme decay, and of Communism express itself more clearly and sharply than in the status of women.

The position of women has often been referred to as one of the surest measures of the level of a civilisation. By this measure Communism stands out as the first fully-developed civilisation in history, where for the first time men and women

participate with full equality, while Fascism is revealed in its most undisguised reactionary character.

The subjection of women has always been integrally bound up with class-society, and is one of the indispensable foundations without which private-property society could not maintain itself. Capitalism has taken over from the preceding period and adapted to its own purposes the social institutions born on the subjection of women. While revolutionising and organising production and trade on a gigantic scale throughout the world, it maintained, preserved and even intensified in a still more brutal and narrow form the primitive and anarchic basis of the small-scale individual household, of the family and its ties, and sought to make of this pre-capitalist institution its most powerful conservative pillar of support. Only on this basis could capitalism, with its complete individualist cash-nexus repudiation of all social obligations and ties, nevertheless successfully maintain itself, and through the institution of the family throw off its own shoulders all social responsibility for the proper conditions of motherhood, of the bringing up of children, of the support of the sick and the aged, as well as the enormous volume of so-called "domestic labour"—all socially necessary labour indispensable for the maintenance of society, but offering no profit for capitalism to organise, and the own off as unpaid labour on to the shoulders of the working-class wives and mothers to be performed in the heaviest, dirtiest, most unproductive and wasteful pre-machine conditions alongside highly organised large-scale machine industry in the world outside. The consequent economic and social institutions, involving the subjection of women and the forcible compulsion of the majority of women to economic dependence on marriage as their sole means of livelihood, are bound up with the existence of private-property society, and can only be ended with communist social organisation.

Nevertheless, capitalism in its progressive phase performed also a progressive role in relation to the position of women by offering for the first time the possibilities and conditions of a new economic form of organisation. Capitalism in its search for ever more and cheaper supplies of labour-power draws increasingly millions of women and young persons into industry, until to-day about one-third of the total labour force in modern capitalist states consists of women and girls. Despite the brutal conditions of exploitation, more heavy than for the male workers (an inequa-

ity extended in the name of the sacred "family," on the basis of the illusory theory that the average woman worker is supposed to have no "dependents") yet this means that millions of women have for the first time the beginnings of possibility of an independent economic existence and active citizenship, in place of the compulsion of dependence on a male earner as their sole possibility of livelihood and existence. Marx discerned at an early stage the significance of this process :

However terrible and disgusting the dissolution under the capitalist system of the old family ties may appear, nevertheless, modern industry, by assigning as it does an important part in the process of production, outside the domestic sphere, to women, to young persons and to children of both sexes, creates a new economical foundation for a higher form of the family and of the relation between the sexes. (Marx, *Capital*, I., Ch. 15, para. 9.)

The realisation of this possibility of emancipation, for which capitalism has thus laid the preliminary conditions, depends on the advance to a Communist society : since the drawing of women into industry, so long as the old property conditions and burden of the individual household remain unreplaced by social organisation, only in fact adds to the burden of women instead of liberating them. Only by the full introduction of women into equal partnership in social production, with the consequent necessary equal education and training, and the destruction of the old wasteful unorganised domestic economy inseparably connected with the private property system, can the old position of the economic dependence of women be ended, and their equality and freedom be realised, not only in form, but in living reality. This standpoint was expressed by Engels in his well-known declaration in the *Origin of the Family* :

The emancipation of women and their equality with men are impossible, and remain so as long as women are excluded from social production and restricted to domestic labour. The emancipation of women becomes feasible only then when women are enabled to take part extensively in social production.

The dependence of the solution of the women's question upon the realisation of a Communist society was constantly emphasised by Lenin :

The full liberation of woman and her real equality with man

requires a communist economy, a communist social organisation of production and consumption and the participation of women in general production. Only through this will women take the same place in society as man.

(Lenin, *Speech at Moscow Conference of Working Women*.)

The Soviet Union illustrates the advance towards this position, where for the first time in the world's history the real equality of women is being built up and established among all the peoples in its territory.

But capitalism in the period of the general crisis begins to reverse the engines and move in the opposite direction. It is no longer hunting for new reserves of labour power to exploit. On the contrary, it can no longer find employment for the existing labour force. Hence the cry begins to be sounded increasingly, always from the beginning voiced by the clerical-reactionary forces, but now increasingly taken up by modern capitalism as a whole, to drive women out of industry and thus assist to "solve" unemployment by increasing the number of dependants to be maintained on each wage (the process can be observed in England in the operation of the Anomalies Act and of the barbarous Family Means Test).

This cry is taken up in its sharpest and most undisguised form by Fascism, here as in every sphere voicing the most reactionary tendencies of capitalism in extreme decay. Back to the home! Back to economic dependence on marriage as the sole career for women! Cut down women's education! Expel women from employment and give the jobs to men! Back to pots and pans! Produce more cannon-fodder for war! Back to kitchen-slavery! This is the line of Fascism on the women's question.

Hitler writes :

In the case of female education the main stress should be laid on bodily training, and after that on development of character; and last of all, on intellect. But the one absolute aim of female education must be with a view to the future mother.

(Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, p. 163.)

It may be noted that the new German Government regulations for cutting down university education and establishing a rigidly limited student quota for all forms of higher education (and

that also dependent on political "national reliability") restricts women to 10 per cent. of the quota of 15,000—i.e. only 1,500 women for the whole of Germany to be permitted in a given year to proceed to any form of higher education, whether universities, technical colleges or other institutions. In 1931 there were 19,700 women students in Germany, taking an average three-year course as basis, representing an average pre-Fascist annual entry of 6,000 to 7,000 women students, this represents a cut by Fascism of women's higher education by 75-80 per cent.¹

Spengler writes in his *Years of Decision*:

Let German women breed warrior men and take pleasure in breeding them.

Woman is to be neither comrade, nor beloved, but only mother.

The American observer, Calvin B. Hoover, reports the Nazi attitude to the women's question:

The attitude of the National Socialists towards women is an integral part of their belief in the desirability of a return to a system of life and morals characteristic of an agricultural rather than an industrial society. The Party is determined that the place of

¹ The drastic cutting down of university education, previously the pride and greatest strength of German civilisation, is a typical expression of the general cultural reaction of Fascism, equally illustrated in the burning of the books, etc. The Berlin correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* reported in the beginning of 1934:

"Of the total number of matriculated students in the whole of Germany only 15,000 are to be allowed to enter universities, technical colleges or other institutes of higher education in the coming year.....Some 23,000 matriculated students will be unable to proceed to higher education in consequence of the new regulations."

At the same time the Soviet Union educational authorities were reporting that the total number of university and technical college students in the Soviet Union in 1933 was 415,000 as against 203,000 in 1926-7, and 130,000 under Tsarism. In the face of these facts even the dullest should be able to see that Communism, with its basis in science, is bound to conquer the world, while Fascism, with its denial of science, is doomed to decay and death.

women shall once more be in the front line of the National Socialist conception of woman in the defence of the race so that they should bear many strong sons to carry the banner of peace and war. (Calvin B. Hoover, *German Literature: Third Reich*, p. 266)

It is an error to suppose that the reactionary, fascist attitude to women is simply a reflection of a reactionary, fascist culture and yearnings for a pre-industrial type of style dress. The fact that the policy of minute bonuses (paid in cash, but in order on the large shops, and repayable) for marriage, on the one hand, and that the woman passes out of industry, and the violent propaganda for late births, are accompanied at the same time by the policy of women's sterilisation of the alleged unfit or mentally weak (i.e. of those likely to produce offspring unfit for military service or of those politically unreliable), this latter practice being extremely offensive to traditional religious sentiment, is sufficient evidence that the policy as a whole is not simply the policy of religious reactionary romanticism, but the conscious reactionary policy of modern capitalism in its most extreme decay. Modern capitalism, while cruelly exploiting women in industry at sweated rates so far as it has use for their labour, kicks the remainder out of industry whom it cannot employ, bidding them become dependent on male wage-earners and thus save its total bill for wages or unemployment relief, and at the same time calls on them to perform the service in producing plenty of recruits for the increasing needs of the slaughterhouses of imperialist war. This is the viewpoint of modern capitalism in extreme decay, or Fascism, on the role of women. In this key question of the role of women, or in its attitude to culture, or in its use of torture and re-introduction of barbaric beheadings, Fascism reveals typically its degraded social, political and cultural level.

CHAPTER III

THE ESSENCE OF FASCISM—THE ORGANISATION OF SOCIAL DECAY

FASCISM, developing since little over a decade, has no long past behind it, and in all probability—from the very nature of its reactionary role, from its violent inner contradictions, and from the whole character of its desperate attempt to throw up a dam against the advancing social revolution—is likely to have no long future before it. Fascism is likely to be remembered only as an episode in the long-drawn class-war advancing to the final victory of the socialist revolution.

But *if* Fascism were able to have the opportunity to continue over a longer period, were able to maintain its power and to dominate, as it dreams, a whole epoch of social history, then it is evident from the whole foregoing analysis what its historical role would be, and what kind of society it would produce.

The society of a "*stabilised Fascism*"—if such a contradiction in terms can be imagined, if, that is, for the sake of analysis we try to imagine the possibility of such a society and ignore for the moment the inner dialectics of break-up and revolutionary upsurge which would make such a stabilisation impossible—would be a society of *organised decay*.

The essence of Fascism is the endeavour violently to suppress and overcome the ever-growing contradictions of capitalist society. As Goering stated in a speech to the Pomeranian Landbund on March 17, 1933:

The regime of national concentration will with iron fist bring the opposing interests of the different strata of society into that harmony which is so essential to the prosperity of the German people.

Forcible ("iron fist") suppression of the "opposing interests of the different strata of society" into "harmony," that is to say, in short, "*iron-fist harmony*"—that is the essence of Fascism.

But what does this involve? For in fact just the contradictions and consequent conflicts are the main-spring and driving force of social development in class-society, that is to say, until society becomes a true collective by the liquidation of classes. Until then, the path of class-conflict is the path of social development. To attempt on the one hand to maintain the contradictions unresolved, and on the other to suppress forcibly their expression, would mean, if successful, that society would cease to develop and would pass, on the most favourable hypothesis, to a Byzantine or Old-Chinese hieratic ossification. But such a society requires in fact an entirely different economy from modern capitalism. And to this outcome the deepest inner tendencies of Fascism—despite the fact that it is to-day used in practice as the instrument of finance-capital—would, if given free play, increasingly develop.

Just by its attempt to suppress forcibly, in place of resolving, the contradictions of modern society, Fascism reveals most profoundly its reactionary role. For by this it strangles social development.

First, Fascism seeks to suppress the class struggle, not by the abolition of classes, but by the violent permanent subjection of the exploited class to the exploiters and crushing of all resistance. This means, even if it could be successful, a condition of permanent inner war within society, with consequent extreme waste of social forces and increasing destruction of all possibility of collective achievement. Its stabilisation would mean the replacement of liberal capitalism by a caste or statutory servile system. As the nineteenth-century liberal capitalist system of formal "free contract" increasingly disappears under modern conditions of large-scale industry, its breakdown raises ever more sharply the two alternatives: either Socialism, or the common ownership of the means of production and common obligation of all citizens to labour and sharing of the fruits; or the Servile State (State Capitalism), that is, the statutory compulsion and regulation of the labour of the wage-earning class for the profit of the property-owning class under a general framework of State control, with the abolition of the right to strike. The Fascist State represents the second alternative, that is, *the Servile State*.

Second, Fascism seeks to suppress the contradictions and

conflicts of capitalist economy brought about by the advance of technique and the development of mass-production and productive power. As before, it seeks, not to resolve the contradictions in the higher form of socialisation of the already social forms of production, but to suppress them by artificially *restricting the productive forces*, throttling down production to fixed limits suitable to monopolist capital, preventing new development, clamping on state bureaucratic control, and even, in extreme cases, artificially maintaining obsolete small-production forms, restricting machine-production and encouraging hand-labour (see Chapter III, sections 1 and 2 for examples of this process). The reactionary, stagnating tendencies of monopoly capitalism receive their extreme expression in Fascism.

Third, Fascism seeks to suppress the contradictions of international capitalist development, that is, the contradictions between the single unified world market and international specialisation of production, on the one hand, and the competing monopolist groups and state complexes, on the other, by forcibly *shattering the basis of international economy* and organising the retreat towards the limited closed-in isolationist economic basis—the line of so-called “national self-sufficiency” or “autarchy.” This openly retrograde line means the cutting down of international trade and communications, the raising of the costs of production, the lowering of the standard of living, and the increasing “Balkanisation” of the capitalist world.

Where would this whole line—if we continue for the purpose of our analysis to ignore the dialectics of struggle and development which would make its realisation impossible, and imagine a successful and increasing straight-line realisation of the tendencies of Fascism—lead the modern capitalist world in the twentieth century?

It is evident that this line would be a line of increasing stagnation and decay leading more and more away from the complex inter-dependent modern forms towards more primitive forms, and finally to barbarism.

The first stage of this process of the working out of Fascism would be the stage of an elaborately *bureaucratic and nonprogressive state capitalism*—the bureaucratic regulation and restriction of the entire economy, while still maintaining capitalist forms. But

while the capitalist forms would still be maintained, and surplus-value would continue to be extracted, the old free play of capitalist production and circulation could no longer be permitted. Accumulation and expansion would have to be strictly controlled, since the normal working of the capitalist process would otherwise rapidly burst the bonds of the strangled accumulation and harmony. The capitalist class would tend to become a permanently fixed class or caste, with no room for new accessions to its rank. The attempt would develop, by means of control of investments and similar measures, to stabilise on a basis approximating to simple reproduction of capital, and to avoid or minimise the inherent disturbances of expanded reproduction. This would mean a static non-progressive tendency, with regulated quoms of production, prices, levels of wages and profits. New inventions would be strictly regulated and checked, as is to-day widely recommended. Science and education would be discouraged, save so far as is indispensable for military purposes.

This stagnating, non-progressive parasitic character of monopoly capitalism has already been observed since the beginning of the imperialist era. Lenin, in his analysis of imperialism as the "Decay of Capitalism," sharply brings out this tendency.

Like all monopoly, this capitalist monopoly inevitably gives rise to a tendency to stagnation and decay. In proportion as the monopoly prices become fixed, even though it be temporary, so the stimulus to all progress tends to disappear, and so also arises the economic possibility of slowing down technical progress.

(Lenin, *Imperialism*, Ch. 8)

The post-war development of capitalism in the two decades since this was written, and especially the development of state capitalism and of Fascism, has enormously carried forward this process.

The "*petrification*" of modern capitalist industry under an "anonymous industrial bureaucracy" has been noted as an increasing tendency by the German economic historian, Schmalenbach:

There is no longer a certain assurance that capable, competent men will make good. I am certainly not so sentimental as to believe that in the old private industry a capable man was assured of advancement under all circumstances. Nevertheless, it is quite clear that in the new type of fettered industry the assurance is con-

siderably less. In these vast monopoly concerns the successful man is much more firmly seated in the saddle than he ever could formerly be under the system of private industry. Under free competition he had to earn his position continually. ...

The chiefs of industry, at one time very vigorous leaders in the period of struggle and growth, are petrifying to Heads of Departments, to Chiefs of Industrial Boards, and, as industry turns from the vertical to the horizontal, they change from creative minds to managers of capital and price officials.

But this is only the beginning of the process. This tendency to petrification, to a static non-progressive condition, which is the underlying tendency of all the dreams of "Planned Capitalism," is only the first stage. For in fact the non-progressive tendency inevitably works itself out in a tendency to a decline, to a descent towards a lower technical and economic level. The next stage, the first signs of which can already be discerned, becomes the gradual break-up of the large combinations, *the break-up of large scale organisation*, the reversion to more limited economic units. In place of the internationalisation of economy develops the localised "self-sufficient economic unit." In place of the international specialisation of production develops scattered production on a smaller scale for each unit, and the consequent decline of mass-production. The most advanced large-production plants, with their heavy overhead running costs and need of an enormous worldwide market, begin to be found "*uneconomic*" in contrast to relatively more backward smaller plants. So begins the downward movement (*if* the proletariat does not conquer, *if* the advance to the necessary next stage of the world socialist order is not achieved), from the high-water mark of capitalist technique in the first quarter of the twentieth century to lower and more primitive forms. Such is the economic basis of the "decline to the Dark Ages," which all can see ideologically expressed in Fascism.

Scott Nearing in his pamphlet on "Fascism" has given a vivid imaginative picture of this process. He writes :

The search for a self-sufficient economic unit will lead the Fascists, as it led those of their predecessors who helped to liquidate the Roman Empire, to a splitting up of economy units until they reach the village, the manor and the local market town. Village economy is almost self-sufficient. ... Short of this level,

however, there is no unit which can pretend to economic self-sufficiency. The search for an area in which economic self-sufficiency is workable leads straight back to such forms of village economy as can be found to day in portions of Central Europe, India and China.

Autarchy implies the abandonment of national specialisation in production. ... Mass-production will be drastically restricted.

The abandonment of national specialisation will go hand in hand with the decline of international trade. In proportion as each community becomes self-sufficient, it will cease to trade with its neighbours. Nation will cease to trade with nation; district with district; village with village, until a stage is reached like that of the Middle Ages, at which the trade of the world can be carried on the backs of camels, pack horses and human beings, or in a few small merchant vessels. Each village, manor, market town, trader and merchant will be compelled to provide for his own self-defence and protect his own property. Localism and individualism will have once again replaced the efforts at social co-ordination. ...

Automatic machinery will be abandoned with the abandonment of mass-production. The village will rely on hand-agriculture and hand-crafts. Railroads will disappear. Roads will be tracks through the mud. Automobiles will vanish. Bridges will be destroyed in the course of the constantly recurring wars and military expeditions and forays. Pack animals defended by private guards will ford the streams and make their way single-file over narrow winding tracks. If this picture seems fantastic to a modern American or European, let him compare Roman imperial economy in 50 A.D. with the economy of the same territory in 650 A.D. ...

Mass wage-labour will disappear with the disappearance of specialised mass-production. The modern proletariat will be eliminated by war, disease, famine and the flight back to the land, quite as effectively as the proletariat and the slave masses of Imperial Rome were eliminated by the same means. ...

The standard of living will be reduced to that of the villagers in present-day Mexico, China, Austria or Rumania, except that the villagers will no longer be able to secure the many trinkets, tools and utensils that now come to them from the centres of specialised industrial production. Each year they will sow their crops; will

wait for the rain, and when the rain fails them, will die like flies of the resultant famine. Each year they will reap their harvests; hide them away from roaming bands of brigands and unemployed soldiers; huddle about their meagre fires, and use their spare time in making and repairing household tools and utensils

(Scott Nearing, *Fascism*, pp 48-51)

This picture is an imaginative picture of a hypothetical process—deliberately leaving out of account the dialectics of the proletarian class struggle which will defeat its realisation. But it is essentially a correct picture of what would happen if the innermost tendencies of Fascist economics and politics were worked out to their final conclusion. It is essentially a correct picture of the only final alternative to the socialist revolution. Those who hesitate at the issue of the socialist revolution will do well to ponder closely this inevitable final alternative which they are thereby choosing.

The sense of the *decline of civilisation*, the overpowering atmosphere of *pessimism*, even though accompanied by formal expressions of hope of revival through Fascism, overwhelmingly dominates all Fascist expression, and betrays its innermost essence.

We have no belief in programmes or plans, in saints or apostles. Above all, we have no belief in happiness, in salvation or in the promised land.—(Mussolini, *Popolo d'Italia*, January 1, 1922).

Fascism denies the materialist conception of happiness as a possibility. (Mussolini, *The Political and Social Doctrine of Fascism*)

In the gloom of to-day and the darkness of to-morrow the only faith that remains to us individualists destined to die is the at present absurd but ever consoling religion of anarchy.

(*Popolo d'Italia*, April 6, 1920).

Hopeless we may be, yet we have the hope of doomed men.

(*Blackshirt*, September 16-22, 1933.)

Fully aware of the decline of cultures and civilisations before us, we still demand the right of every proud warrior—to fight for a cause though that cause seem lost.

(*Fascist Week*, January 12-18, 1934).

"But it is not a lost cause." Such is the hasty addition appended, without attempt at grounds other than a mystic faith, to the

last quotation, to save appearances and justify the Fascist firm. But the addition rather confirms than changes the basic outlook revealed. The basic tone and outlook remains that of a dying civilisation fighting against odds, or, rather, deliberately in the face of all the evidence of the doom of history proclaimed around it.

Characteristic of this whole outlook is the dominating influence of Spengler on Fascism. The favourite the novel quoted and the dominating philosopher and teacher of the Fascist "theorists" remains Spengler, the shallow journalistic-smatterer philosopher of the inevitability of decline and of the collapse of civilisation, even though his conclusions are so downright black and hopeless in their pessimism that they are compelled formally to deny them, while accepting his premises. The recent official book of British Fascism (Drennan, *B.U.F. : Sir Oswald Mosley and British Fascism*) fills its pages with endless excerpts from Spengler, declaring:

Spengler's interpretation of world history is a colossal monument to the European mind. ... His interpretation of past history remains valid, and constitutes a base from which modern man may begin to interpret his own present and to modify his own future. What is the teaching of this "colossal" prophet? He writes:

Only dreamers believe that there is a way out. Optimism is cowardice. We are born into this time and must bravely follow the path to the destined end. There is no other way. Our duty is to hold on to the last position, without hope, without rescue. ... The honourable end is the one thing that cannot be taken from a man.

What is the comment of *The Fascist Week* on this commonplace maudlin posturing of all dying civilisations?

His words are a magnificent example of dauntless nobility in the face of inevitable annihilation.—(*Fascist Week*, January 12-18, 1934.)

The Fascist organ thereafter endeavours to plead that perhaps man may be "in some ways free of natural laws" and thus escape the doom. But even the final conclusion of the Fascist organ runs:

For those who make the choice, the very least of their destinies will be an honourable end.

In the same way the official book on *Mosley and British Fascism*, already quoted, glories in the breakdown of civilisation and the return to the primitive :

The powers of the blood, unbroken bodily forces, resume their ancient lordship (p. 198.)

Out of the night of history, old shadows are appearing which menace their complacency.... Sir Herbert Samuel, a Liberal of singular perspicacity, believes that Europe is returning to the conditions of the twelfth century. Professor Laski wails against these new men who have "no inhibitions." ...

The figure of the leader... comes out into the stark day—in the grim serenity of Mussolini, in the harsh force of Hitler. And behind them stride the eternal *condottieri*—the gallant, vivid Balbo, the ruthless Goering (pp. 22-3).

(Dienstag, B. U. F. : *Sir Oswald Mosley and British Fascism*.) With this typical glorification of the "condottieri," of the return of the brigand Balbo and the gorilla Goering, of the law of the jungle, we may leave the Fascists to their Neronian pleasures, until such time as the strong hand of the proletarian dictatorship shall end their blood-orgies and establish civilised order and progress throughout the world. What speaks here through the mouth of the Fascists -- nothing; but the typical decadent parasitic glorification of blood and the cave-man (already visible in its first signs in the invalid Nietzsche, Carlyle and other sick types, or later represented in the F. M. Dells and Hemingways of literature). Fascism in its ideology is nothing but the continuation of fin-de-siècle decadence into its necessary outcome in blood-lust and barbarism. All this is only the death-rattle of the dying bourgeois civilisation.

Against all this pessimism, decline, decay and filth tragic destinies, self-heroisings, idealisation of death, returns to the primitive, mysticism, spiritualism and corruption, the revolutionary proletarian movement of Communism, of Marxism, the heir of the future, proclaims its unshakable certainty and confidence in life, in science, in the power of science, in the possibility of happiness, proclaims its unconquerable optimism for the whole future of humanity, and in this sign, armed with the weapons of scientific understanding, of dialectical materialism, of Marxism, will conquer and sweep from the earth the dregs of disease and decay which find their expression in Fascism.

CHAPTER IV

FASCISM 'TODAY'

1—What is Hitlerism?

At this time of day, when Fascism is so branded in the sight of all thinking people; when its barbarities and outrages, its pogroms and tortures, its racial megalomanias and crucifixion of nations, its frauds and double-dealing, its glorification of war and cruelty and exploitation, its contempt for the people, denial of reason, holocaust of culture and insult to every decent human feeling, have become the common experience of the world; it might seem unnecessary to waste time in discussing its character.

Yet in fact the necessity remains. There is still very great confusion as to the character of Hitlerism or Fascism. There is the very vocal school of thought which sees no distinction between the Hitler regime and the German people, and draws from this a series of conclusions for strategy and war aims. Then there are those who separate the fascist regime from the war, declare that they have nothing against the fascist regime, in which they even see good points, and regret the war as a mistaken policy of Fascism, which has placed them under the reluctant necessity of fighting in opposition to it. Others seek to find similarities between Fascism and Communism, that is, between Fascism and its opposite, its most consistent antagonist. Others again seek to draw distinctions between "good" and "bad" Fascists, "extreme" and "moderate" Fascists, German and Italian Fascism, etc. All these various approaches have their practical consequences in the method of the conduct of the war. Every confusion weakens the fight against Fascism.

To know well the enemy against whom we are fighting is an indispensable condition for success in the fight.

¹ This is a reprint of the chapter "The Face of the Enemy" from *Britain in the World Front* by R. P. D.

At the outset it is necessary to be clear that our enemies are not the German, Italian or Japanese peoples, but the fascist rulers of these nations, who for their own ends have involved the masses of their peoples in war and whose rule imposes heavy sufferings upon them.

The masses of the German, Italian and Japanese peoples are our potential allies. Fascist rule has only been imposed on them by violence, terror and deception, not by free choice. There is a corrupt, degenerate section, a minority of the population, who are the willing accomplices of the criminal fascist rulers: these are the hangers-on, goons and storm-troopers, petty officials etc., who carry out the work of the fascist rulers and enjoy a share in the spoils. A section of the youth, who have been subjected from their earliest years to fascist training and known no other conditions, have grown up young fascist hoodlums. But the masses of the people, held under an unexampled regime of daily terror and lies, are unwilling accomplices of their rulers rather than actively responsible. A heroic minority of the bravest fighters of the people and of the best representatives of the culture of these countries has conducted a consistent struggle against Fascism. This opposition will now as the blows of the anti-fascist armies shatter the military prestige of Fascism and the deepening misery of the life of the peoples under the fascist rule is stripped of all lying pretensions to hide it. So long as the masses of the peoples obey the orders of their masters and work and fight for them, we must necessarily conduct war against the entire forces led by Fascism without distinction, for the will they represent is the will of the fascist rulers; they are fascist armies. But in conducting war, we look always to the masses of the people controlled by Fascism as our future allies and seek to win them to our side as speedily as possible in the common struggle.

The British-Soviet Pact of July 12, 1941, described the present war as war "against Hitlerite Germany"—thus for the first time in an official document defining the aim of the fight to be a fight against the Hitlerism, and not against the German people. This corresponded with the declaration of Molotov on June 22, 1941, when Nazi Germany invaded the Soviet Union.

"This war has been forced upon us, not by the German people, not by the German workers, peasants, and intellectuals,

whose sufferings we well understand, but by the clique of blood-thirsty Fascist rulers of Germany, who have crushed Frenchmen, Czechs, Poles, Serbians, as well as Norway, Belgium, Denmark, Holland, Greece and other nations."

Similarly the Atlantic Charter of August, 1941, after denouncing "the policy of military domination by conscious support which the Hitlerite Government of Germany and other Governments associated therewith have embarked," defined the primary objective of the struggle to be "the final destruction for a lasting the further aims of greater freedom and secure peace for mankind."

The Soviet-Polish declaration of Friendship, signed by Stalin and Sikorski on December 4, 1941, laid down in its opening clause :

"German Hitlerite Imperialism is the most evil enemy of mankind. It is impossible to make any compromise with it."

The World Pact of twenty six States and nations signed on January 1, 1942, summed up the struggle against the members of the Tripartite Pact and its adherents as "the struggle for victory over Hitlerism."

Reporting this Pact to the House of Commons on January 27, 1942, Winston Churchill declared :

"This union is based on the principle of the Atlantic Charter. It aims at the destruction of Hitlerism in all its forms and manifestations in every corner of the globe."

What is this Hitlerism which has thus united the overwhelming majority of mankind against it ?

Hitlerism is German Fascism. A fascist regime is inseparable from war. Fascism is a criminal regime imposed upon people by the most powerful reactionary forces in a country, the big trusts, landowners, military castes, etc., for the purpose, first, of holding down the people in absolute and terrorised subjection to their rule, when all other means of checking the advance of the people to freedom have failed, and a second of conquering other countries and advancing to the domination of the world.

Hitlerism is the spearhead of World Fascism. Hitlerism, Nazism ("National Socialism") or Fascism are different terms for the same general type of regime or system, representing the most

extreme, violent, brutal type of reaction in the modern era, the enemy of all democracy or progress. Fascism was the name invented by its original exponents in Italy, where it first won power under Mussolini; and Fascism has since become the most general term to describe it in all countries. Nazism or "National Socialism" was the term adopted by its exponents in Germany under Hitler. Hitlerism is the descriptive term which has come into general use in the countries outside Germany to denote Nazism or German Fascism, with special reference to its aims of world domination. When Fascism won control in such a powerful modern State as Germany, German Fascism became the most important, the strongest and most aggressive representative of Fascism all over the world with its tentacles extending to all countries. The fight against Hitlerism is thus the fight against the spearhead of Fascism all over the world, an enemy representing the most reactionary social-political forces and tendencies in modern society, with secret or open adherents in all countries.

The attempt to associate the whole German people with the Hitlerite aims and their aims of world domination means to weaken our fight against Hitler. This view considers the militarist, aggressive and expansionist drive of Hitlerism towards the aim of world domination to be a peculiar racial characteristic of the German people, supposedly traceable for centuries and even for thousands of years. The exponents of this view accordingly condemn any attempt to appeal to the German people against their rulers, and demand a policy which will threaten the German people with an onerous peace imposing penal conditions and a military occupation for many years.

It is obvious that this policy is calculated to strengthen the resistance of the German people even around their Hitlerite rulers in order to prevent such a Carthaginian peace. This policy in fact emanates from reactionary circles who fear a real people's revolution in Germany, and who would consequently seek to use victory and the anger of the world against Hitler's crimes in order to perdition a future People's Germany, and maintain in power the old reactionary elements, the basis equally of Pan-Germanism and Hitlerism. This policy is a reactionary policy opposed to the interests of a real victory over Hitlerism. Its principal exponent, Lord Vansittart, was a guest of Hitler before the war, and permanent Under Secretary of the Foreign Office in the initial years

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As for the pseudo-history with which it is so popular to endow this viewpoint, it is only one more of the false assumptions that are to be supposed to have been the powerful stimulus for the drive of world expansion throughout the last century. "The great nations Germany has been trying to crush the world," Lord A. (I start), they have been singularly less successful. Yet more than ever

¹ In his book "I Know Thea Dorian," Mr. West Bruce, in the *Daily Mail*, describes a dinner party given by Hitler in Berlin at the time of the Olympic Games.

"On the Chancellor's right sat Lady Vassalli, one of the British Permanent Under-Secretaries for Foreign Affairs who was then visiting Berlin....

As Sir Robert Van-mart stood in the middle of the room after dinner laughing and joking with His Honor the Chief Justice's deputy, there was a noticeable contrast between the gleaming splendour of the star and cushion of the Grand Master of St. Michael and St. George worn by the one and the plain service-like simplicity of the khaki uniform of the other."

Lord Vansittart was Permanent Under Secretary of the Foreign Office from 1930 to 1937. During this time British armaments firms were engaged in exporting arms to Germany, including artillery and planes, contrary to the Versailles Treaty and, with the sanction of the British Government, the disarmament clauses of the Versailles Treaty were finally repudiated by the German Military law of 1935, and French protests over-ruled by Britain; the actual disarmament clauses were repudiated by the proclamation and rapid building-up of the German air force; the Naval disarmament clauses were cancelled by the Anglo-German Naval Agreement of 1935, which gave Germany the right to a navy and included a special clause permitting Germany to build submarines up to 100 per cent of the British level, whilst the German military re-occupation of the Rhineland in 1936 finally ended the military clauses of Versailles. Thus all the safeguards imposed by the Versailles Treaty against the rebuilding of German militarism were torn down with British connivance while Lord Vansittart was Permanent Under Secretary at the Foreign Office.

Powers in the accomplishment of their designs. The racial diagnosis of Hitlerism is as great nonsense as the racial theories of the Hitlerites themselves, who proclaim the "Nordic German race" to be the natural rulers of the world. Indeed, the racial explanation of Hitlerism favoured by the Vansittart school, is only the servile echo, in reverse, of the racial theory of the Hitlerite philosophy.

Anti-Germanism is only one part of Hitler's Programme. Hitlerism arose as a weapon against popular revolution in Germany. It is perfectly true that Hitler was originally trained for political work by the Army under the control of the same Great General Staff which in fact continued unbroken from Kaiserism into the Weimar Republic; that he was sent into the tiny "German Workers' Party," which became the Nazi Party, under military orders as part of this political work; that the first Storm Troops were organised by a paid Reichswehr soldier; and that the money for establishing the first Nazi party organ, the "Voelkische Beobachter," was supplied by the officer commanding the Munich Reichswehr, General von Epp. It is perfectly true that Hitler and the Nazi Party were built up, financed and protected stage by stage to power by the army and police authorities, the big industrialists, sections of the Junkers and the most reactionary elements of the old bureaucracy—all enemies of the Weimar Republic and apostles of Pan-Germanism, that is, of German imperialist expansion. When Hitler was finally placed in power, against the majority vote of the German people, by the dictatorial act of a Hindenburg, the true line of succession received symbolical expression. It is perfectly true that Hitler, Himmler, Goering, Goebbels, Daluge, Jey and the other Nazi leaders, and the elaborate apparatus they have built up, represent the political instrument, the scientifically organised last word political machine, far more effective for its purpose than the old Kaiserism, of the most reactionary sections of German Imperialism, of German monopoly capital.

But it is also true that Fascism is a phenomenon which has appeared in all capitalist countries, in greater or less degree, at a certain stage of development. Fascism has won power in Italy (before Germany), in France, Spain, in Japan (a special type of military Fascism, on the basis of Japanese feudal imperialism), in Vichy France (after the German conquest, but the fascist movement was strong for years before, and its supporters organised the

capitulation in order to impose their reactionary system in Spain, Portugal and in other countries. Fascist movements have appeared in Britain (Mosley) and in the United States (Hugan, Father Coughlin, the Silver Shirts). It is true that, with the establishment of the power of German Fascism, the numerous, more or less well-organised and aggressive fascist regimens in the world, all other fascist movements in all other countries (Italy, Spain, Germany, Mannerheim, Mosley, etc.) have become more or less subsidiary to it and vehicles of the influence of German Fascism, but this does not mean that these movements have not attracted directly out of similar decaying reactionary elements, within their own countries. When Lord Rothermere announced his support for Mosley some years ago he was not acting consciously as a Pro-Germanist.

The true character of Fascism thus needs to be recognised as a 'social-political phenomenon' with its roots deep in the existing outworn social order, and not as a peculiar racial organism which can only arise in one country.

There are historical reasons why Fascism first won power in any front-rank industrial country in Germany. Prior to 1933 the theory was widely expressed that Fascism could only conquer in a backward semi-agrarian country, and not in a modern highly industrial country with a powerful organised working class movement. Hence the "It Can't Happen Here" illusion, which was widely prevalent in Germany and neighbouring countries up to 1933. The victory of Nazism in Germany dealt a crushing blow to these illusions (not the final blow, unfortunately as late as May, 1940, on the very eve of the Petain-Weygand coup in France. Blum at the head of French Socialism, in his speech to the Bourgeois and Labour Party Conference, saw only the danger from the Communists and the Left, and saw no danger from the Right.) With its victory in Germany Nazism became the dominant type of all Fascism, the heart of the hydra-headed monster which the whole world has now to fight.

The issue of the future of Germany, recognised on all sides as decisive for the future of European and world development, has run like a red thread through all the complications of world politics since the last war. Not only local and national factors, but also international factors have played their decisive role in the temporary victory of Fascism in Germany.

German imperialism was defeated in the war of 1914-18, after four and a quarter years of intense conflict, by the superior coalition of its enemies. The defeat led to a popular revolution which temporarily overthrew the ruling Junker and imperialist forces, represented by the Kaiser regime, but failed to consolidate its gains; and to the Versailles Treaty, by which the victorious Allied Powers sought to shatter and hold in chains the German imperialist rival.

Neither the partial revolution of 1918 nor the Versailles Treaty could solve the problem of Germany. On the contrary all their contradictions were intensified. Only a genuine popular revolution in Germany, which destroys the military and bureaucratic caste, which strikes down the power and possessions of the Junker large landowners and of the big industrialists, and thus establishes the basis for a real democracy, could finally end the menace of German militarism and imperialism for the peoples of Europe. But the reaction in Germany and the reactionaries among the victorious Allied Powers were equally opposed to this.

Nazism threw on the crisis of defeated Germany and the counter-revolutionary complicity of Anglo-French reaction. The disorganisation of economy, the ruin and impoverishment of the middle class elements through inflation, helped to provide it with a recruiting ground. The world economic crisis, which hit German economy hardest, helped to sweep it forward to a leading position. Nazism made demagogic use of the genuine grievances of Versailles in order to attribute all the social and economic evils consequent on a society in dissolution to the Versailles Treaty, and thus harness the German people anew to the chariot of German militarism and imperialism. The reactionary ruling forces in Germany, bankrupt of any constructive policy, recklessly seeking a solution for their internal and external problems, and greedily grasping after any means for their aims of world expansion, found in Nazism their chosen instrument.

So it came about that in 1933 power over the German people passed into the hands of a band of bloodthirsty adventurers, drug-maniacs and perverts, who let hell loose in Germany as a preliminary to letting hell loose over the world, and dragged down in shame the good name of Germany and every tradition of culture and civilisation of the German nation.

Hitlerism is a monstrous product. But the responsibility for that product rests not only with German leaders, and with the sections of the German people who assisted or permitted it to come to power. It rests also with the governments of all countries who assisted to build up its power, and with the peoples of all countries who prevented those policies just to the responsibility which they have with the peoples of all countries in union with the German people to destroy the monster.

2 — The System of Hitler

Fascism means war. The fascist system cannot be divorced from the war aims of Fascism. From the outset the Nazi revolution in Germany was not merely a violent attempt to solve the internal social and political crisis of the old regime in Germany. It was at the same time, from the first hour of Hitler's coming to power, conscious and systematic steps in the preparation of war for the aims of world expansion. All the measures of the Nazi regime, not only in the direct military sphere, but in industry and production, civil administration, education or the moulding of the population, have been directed and are directed to the supreme aim of war.

In 1936 Major Jost, the head of the Press Department of the German War Ministry, issued a pamphlet on "The Military Significance of the National Socialist Revolution." This pamphlet was published with a preface by War Minister, General von Blomberg, who declared that "the contents may be regarded as having official approval." In this officially authorised pamphlet it was explained that Nazism represents the necessary form of State organisation for modern "total war."

"The writer goes on to show that the form of the National Socialist State corresponds with the requirements of modern war which demands all the moral, physical and material resources of the State. He recalls the divorce between strategy and politics in the pre-war period which caused the totalitarian nature of war to be forgotten. As chief of the State, Leader of the Party, and supreme Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces, Adolf Hitler is the master of Germany, with power in his hands for which there is scarcely any precedent in history. All opposition between soldier and citizen, between civilian

and military thinking, has been resolved in his person."

(Berlin correspondent of *The Times*, February 27, 1936).

Similarly in 1936 Mussolini declared :

"The regulating plan of Italian economy is dominated by one premise—the inevitability that the nation must be welded into one concrete warlike bloc. When and how war will break out no one can say, but the wheel of destiny runs fast. Industry which works directly or indirectly for the defence of the nation and has formed its capital from public subscriptions, and the industry which has developed to such an extent as to be capitalistic or supercapitalistic, will be formed into great units corresponding to what are called key industries...We are moving towards a period in which these industries will have neither the time nor the power to work for the private consumer. They must work exclusively, or almost exclusively, for the armed forces of the nation."

(Mussolini, Speech to the Second National Assembly of Corporations, March 23, 1936).

The internal and external aims of Fascism are inseparable. Fascism, the system of violent rule of the most reactionary big monopolist interests, is inevitably at the same time the system of organisation of the State and economy for aggressive war.

For many years Fascism succeeded in deceiving, or at any rate in winning the support of large numbers of respectable, influential and educated people in all countries. Blinded by its claim to represent their bulwark against Communism or democratic advance, they became its apologists and sycophants; they palliated its crimes and extolled its supposed virtues. Statesmen, financiers and arms merchants vied with one another in supplying the armaments to Fascism which were subsequently to be used against their own peoples. The worst infamies of Fascism were kept out of the official press; the consular reports on the concentration camps, which were available in the official pigeon-holes through all these years, were not made public property until after the outbreak of war; anti-Nazi films like "Professor Mamlock" were suppressed. Aristocrats and millionaires, press magnates and politicians, professors and publicists paraded in a long series at the Nazi public rallies or intimate gatherings as guests and friends of this crew of bloodstained gangsters, whose touts were received in turn in this

country as the darlings of Maynard and the country house parties. Religion also was drawn into the racket, and Buckminster and "moral rearmament"; and high placed pacifism had its part. The majority of these gentry have not yet disappeared from public life. Some of them have since had their eyes opened; others are prudent enough to keep their mouths shut, or endeavour for the moment to sing in a different key in public. But they remain influential, their basic sentiments and outlook on life have not changed; and the danger remains that at an appropriate moment they will seek to return to their vomit and by one tortuous means or another work anew for their old sinister aims. This is one of the reasons why the basic exposure of the whole system of Fascism remains important, even though it is nowadays universally denounced in public expression in this country.

In addition, some sections of workers in all countries and of middle-class democratic opinion have been taken in by the apparent efficiency of the economic and social organisation of Fascism. They have confused Socialism with Hitler's "National Socialism." In this way they have failed to distinguish between propaganda lies and reality.

Socialism, the aim to which the organised working class movement and large sections of opinion in all countries look as the solution of their problems, the solution of the problems of war and poverty and of all the evils of the old class society, has nothing in common with "National Socialism" or Fascism.

Socialism is characterised by the abolition of class, through the common ownership of the means of production which are socially operated for the general benefit. This abolition of the monopoly of the narrow propertied ruling class establishes for the first time the conditions for complete democracy, by removing those barriers which limit the effectiveness of the democratic rights already won by the people in the capitalist democratic countries as the first step to their further advance. The social ownership of the means of production, by establishing the equal participation of all in the labour of society, and enabling all to share in its fruits on the basis of their labour (finally, in Communist society, on the basis of needs alone), ends the exploitation of one section of society by another and provides the indispensable foundation for universal free and equal citizenship, for real freedom.

Fascism, on the other hand, is characterised by the violent maintenance of the class system, of the division between the great monopolist trusts and the mass of the population, who are completely deprived of all rights, even of the rights they have won in the capitalist democratic countries. The power of the monopolies, fused with the State, is established as a statutory power over a serf population (the Labour Code), maintained by every device of ideological domination and bloody terror. This is the essence of Fascism, from which all else follows, the destruction of democracy; the war on culture and freedom of thought; the systematic barbarism; the drive to expansion and world conquest.

Hitler laid bare the true character of "National Socialism" or Fascism when he declared.

"We want a selection of the new ruling stratum which realises that, by virtue of its racial superiority, it has the right to rule and ruthlessly to maintain and secure with all means its rule over the broad masses."

(Quoted in Konrad Heiden "History of National Socialism")

Goebbels put the point no less explicitly in his brochure "Prussia Must Become Prussia Again".

"Socialism is Prussianism (Preussentum). The conception 'Prussianism' is identical with what we mean by Socialism."

And again in a speech in East Prussia:

"Our Socialism is that which animated the Kings of Prussia, and which reflected itself in the march-step of the Prussian Grenadier regiments: a socialism of duty."

Similarly, from the side of the big industrialists, the organ of German heavy industry, the "Deutsche Bergwerkszeitung" wrote in August, 1933:

"It was the word 'Socialism' which had long made considerable sections of the capitalist class hesitate before rallying to the Hitler movement.....To-day it is long clear that this was a great misunderstanding. Better than any National-Socialist propaganda, the acts of the new Government have shown that the 'socialism' of the Third Reich is the exact opposite of what Marxism means by 'socialism.'"

(Deutsche Bergwerkszeitung, August 13, 1933).

No wonder the big industrialists and Junker landholders, the bankers and steel barons and Hohenzollern princes rallied with enthusiasm to this kind of "socialist" programme so soon as they understood its real purpose. The financial backing of Hitler by big industry was already laid bare in the Frobel-Ludendorff trial of 1924 and in the Bavarian Diet Investigation Committee. Foreign supporters were stated to include Detenbergs, Kuhn, et al, and Lord Paul Faure stated in the French Chamber of Deputies on February 11, 1932, that the foreign financial backers of the Nazis included the directors of the Skoda armaments firm, controlled by Schneider-Creusot. In 1927 Kirdoff, the founder of the Coalowners' Association and the Honorary President of the Steel Trust, joined the Nazi Party. In 1931 the Coalowners' Association adopted a resolution to pay a levy of 6d. on every ton of coal to the Nazi funds, and for this purpose the price of coal was raised. These subsidies reached fantastic heights in 1932, when for the Presidential elections in August, 1932, alone the Steel Trust provided over three million marks within a few days for the Nazi funds.

The power of the great trusts was given statutory recognition in the "New Germany." The Supreme Economic Council appointed under the Nazi Government included for its leading figures:

Herr Krupp von Bohlen, armaments firm, private fortune £ 6,000,000, capital represented, £ 11,000,000.

Herr Fritz Thyssen, steel king; private fortune, £ 6,000,000, capital interests German Steel Trust, £ 140,000,000.

Herr F. C. von Siemens, electrical king, private fortune £ 6,000,000, capital represented, £ 12,000,000.

Prof. Carl Bosch, Dye Trust millionaire, private fortune £ 2,000,000, capital represented, £ 35,000,000.

Dr. A. Vogler, German Steel Trust; private fortune £ 6,000,000, capital represented, £ 140,000,000.

Herr A. Dieha, director Potash Syndicate; capital represented £ 10,000,000.

Herr Boehinger, director Maximilian Steel Works, capital £ 1,000,000.

Herr F. von Schröder, banker.

Herr A. von Finck, banker.

Herr F. Reinhart, banker.

"The list of German millionaires," wrote the *New York Times* Berlin correspondent in May, 1938, "threatened by the economic crisis, is lengthening again." The number of millionaires in Germany increased between 1932 and the end of 1937 by 1,266, and of multi-millionaires by 100. "Hitler has done nothing to break the power of the industrial entrepreneur," wrote Professor Stephen H. Roberts, of Sydney University, in his documented study of the Nazi regime, "Indeed, one of the striking features of his four years of power has been the use of cartel-trusts in the heavy industrial." (S. H. Roberts, "The Regime that Hitler Built," 1937).

The solid results of the big financial backers of Fascism were shown in the figures of profit and security values. Given if we take only the first four years of the Hitler regime, before the final frenzied armament boom and plunge to war, the profits of 50 leading German corporations, with a share capital of 2,100 million marks, rose from 122 million marks in 1934 to 188 million marks in 1937. Dividends rose from 89 million marks to 132 million marks.

The official index of German industrial share values rose from a low point of 40.2 (monthly average) for 1932 to 84.8 in 1938, and with the war soared to 98 in 1940 and 119 in November, 1941.

In Italy the industrial share index rose from 44.6 in 1932 to 84.6 in 1938. Profits of the largest Italian armaments trust, the Montecatini, rose from 67.4 million lire in 1935 to 148.6 million in 1938.

In Japan the industrial share index rose from 62.2 in 1931, when the Manchurian adventure was started, to 132.9 in 1931, and 157 in 1940.

The war swept forward this advance. Between April, 1940, and April, 1941, German industrial share values rose 20 per cent. (League of Nations World Economic Survey, 1939-1941). The profits of Krupp rose from 395 million marks in 1939 to 421 million marks in 1940, or over £31 million. The profits of the German Steel Trust rose from 222 million marks in 1939 to 260 million marks in 1940, or over £19 million.

This is what Hitler calls his miraculous "New Order," a "national socialist working community." With monumental effrontery the Fascist describe their conception of the State as above all sordid economic considerations.

"The State has nothing to do with any definite economic conception. It is not an assembly of economic negotiators during a period with defined limits for the purpose of carrying out economic objects, but the organisation of a community, homogeneous in nature and feeling, for the better existence, and maintenance of their type and the fulfilment of the demands marked out for them by providence. This and nothing else is the significance and object of a State."

(Hitler, "Mein Kampf," English edition, p. 69).

"The foundation of Fascism is the conception of the State, its character, its duty and its aim. Fascism conceives of the State as an absolute in comparison with which all individuals or groups are relative, only to be conceived of in their relation to the State.....The Fascist State is itself conscious, and has itself a will and a personality."

"The State as conceived by Fascism is a spiritual and moral fact in itself."

(Mussolini, "The Political and Social Doctrine of Fascism," 1932).

This "spiritual" claptrap is used to cover up the role of the robber barons, the militarists, the big industrial and Junker landowners, who have chosen as their patrons and protectors the fascist gangsters.

But what of the position of the workers, of the mass of the people, in this "New Order"? To win the support of the workers, there was no limit to the lies and deceptions which Fascism put across before the winning of power. Thus the Italian fascists called for Abolition of the Monarchy; abolition of conscription; confiscation of church property; abolition of the Stock Exchange and dissolution of limited liability companies and banks; transfer of the control of industry to technicians and workers. The twenty-five Points Programme of the Nazi Party, adopted in 1920, and proclaimed by the 1926 Congress to be "unalterable," included the following aims among its miscellaneous medley of items (which may be usefully set out with the practice alongside for comparison):

*Programme**Practice*

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| Point 1. "Union of all Germans to form a Greater Germany on the basis of the right of self-determination of nations." | Violent conquest of Europe. |
| Point 11. "Abolition of Un-earned Income. Breaking of Interest-Slavery." | Increase of multi-millionaires in Germany by 180 between 1932 and 1937. |
| Point 12. "Confiscation of all War Profits." | Krupps' profits in 1940: 421 million marks. |
| Point 13. "Nationalisation of all Trusts." | "One of the striking features of Hitler's first four years of power has been the rise of super-trusts in heavy industries." |
| | (Professor S. H. Roberts). |
| Point 17. "Death Penalty for Usurers and Profiteers." | Wholesale execution of Communists, Socialists and Trade Unionists |

As soon as Fascism came to power, the workers soon learned that the "New Order" meant a paradise for the militarists, profiteers, and fascist hoodlums, and a hell for the masses of the people, with limitless exploitation and complete deprivation of rights.

The place of the worker in the fascist regime was statutorily laid down in the German Labour Code:

Article 1. "In a business undertaking the employer as leader, and employees as followers, shall work together to further the purposes of the undertaking, and for the common good of the community and the State."

Article 2. "As between the leader of an undertaking and his followers, the leader shall make all decisions concerning the undertaking."

(Law for the Organisation of National Labour, January, 1934).

All trade unions and working-class organisations were abolished after Hitler's coming to power, and their funds confiscated. In their place was established the "Labour Front," which combines employers and workers in a single organisation under Nazi control.

Its officials are appointed by the Nazi Party, not elected. The Labour Front is forbidden to occupy itself with questions of wages, hours and working conditions. With twenty five million members, the Labour Front takes all the contributions which workers formerly paid to their unions, and has also taken over all the accumulated funds of the old trade unions; thus its financial resources are enormous, its revenues in 1937 amounting to 366 million marks. These finances pass over to the Nazi Party, operating under the system established of a joint treasury for the Nazi Party and Labour Front; only a small proportion is used for the "struggle through Joy" and similar "cultural" purposes. The Labour Front offers its members, in place of material benefits, "ideal values." As its leader, Ley, explained in March, 1935, in presenting the report of the "Strength through Joy" organisation:

"We could not offer the working masses any material benefits, for Germany was poor and in a state of confusion and misery. New rates of wages or similar things were out of the question."

Hence it was necessary to "suppress the materialism" which led to demands for improved standards of living, and "instead divert the gaze of the workers to the ideal values of the nation."

Similarly the elected Factory Councils, which were the principal gain from the revolution that the industrial workers had succeeded in maintaining throughout the Weimar Republic, were abolished by Hitler, and replaced by "Confidential Committees" nominated by the employer from workers of "unimpeachable political outlook." In form, the list chosen by the employer had to be adopted by the workers in the enterprise, but even this form was dropped after 1935. The functions of the Confidential Committees purely advisory.

"As in every community so also in the business there can be only one Leader; only he can make decisions and he alone is responsible for economic and social affairs.....The Leader of the enterprise alone makes the decisions. Only for advice on his decisions does he call to his aid the Confidential Committee; but these cannot take away from him the sole responsibility for his decisions... ..The interests of the followers must be placed behind the interests of the business community and be brought into conformity with the economic requirements of the business."

(Official Announcement of the Labour Trustee for the economic district of Braudenburg).

Final decision on all questions of wages and labour conditions is placed in the hands of "Labour Trustees" of district dictators appointed by the Nazi Government. The character of these "Labour Trustees" can be judged from the fact that the big industrialist, Krupp, was appointed "Labour Trustee" for the Ruhr area.

From the outset the principle of uniform wages rates, embodied in the old collective agreements, was set on one side in favour of the principle of determining wages individually in each enterprise according to its ability to pay, i.e. according to the employer's opinion of its ability to pay.

"The substitution of a works tariff for a district tariff will be more likely to lead to an improvement in the competitive conditions of the small and medium undertakings.....In terms of wage policy this means that the ability of the undertaking to pay wages will be brought as a determining factor into the wage movement. The start in competitive power which the undertaking working under favourable conditions of production has can in this way be compensated."

(*Der Deutsche Volkswirt* February 16, 1933).

The absolute power of the employer to determine all questions of wages, hours and labour conditions in his enterprise (the Labour Trustee being only called upon in the event of labour trouble, and being required not to interfere in the normal conduct of business) is laid down in the Labour Code. By this enactment the employer is given full authority to lay down "establishment rules" which determine.

1. The beginning and ending of the normal daily hours of work and of the breaks;
2. The times for the payment of remuneration and the nature thereof;
3. The principles for the calculation of jobbing or bargain work;
4. Regulations for the nature, amount and collection of fines;
5. The grounds on which an employment can be terminated without notice, in cases where this does not rest upon statutory grounds;

6. The utilisation of remuneration forfeited by the unlawful termination of an employment, in cases where the said forfeiture is prescribed in the established rules or contract of employment or statutory provisions.

Not without reason the American commentator, Professor R. A. Brady, observes on this:

"Never in all the better annals of labour conflict—including that period of hitherto unparalleled and ruthless brutality known as the beginning of the English factory system—never could the most cynical and inhuman employer have asked more from the State than this."

(R. A. Brady, "The Spirit and Structure of German Fascism," 1937).

With rare truthfulness the Italian fascist organ, *L'Uomo Fascista* wrote of the Nazi Labour Code when it was first introduced in 1934—when Italian and German Fascism were still at loggerheads, and it suited the Italian fascist pot to describe the Nazi kettle:

"German National Socialism has handed over the German workers bound hand and foot to capitalism.....smacking of the Middle Ages.....bringing to naught everything achieved by the workers through the struggle of the last hundred years."

How has it been possible to carry through the fascist programme of robbery, lies, terror and war? The programme has only been carried through by methods of blackguardism, demagoguery, corruption, intimidation and plain thuggery without equal in political annals. The technique of mass-deception, incitement to racial hatred and anti-semitism; unrestrained promises and lavish publicity campaigns to bewilder and hypnotise the unthinking; corruption of the youth; bribes for all willing rowdies, hoodlums and spies, menaces for the timid, beating up, torture and death for resolute opponents—these are the methods of Fascism.

It is not true that Hitler was placed in power by the will of the German people. The myth that Hitler came to power by the support of the majority of the German people is a typical Nazi legend. The facts prove the opposite. Just as Mussolini in Italy (whose fabled "March on Rome" took place in a luxurious sleeping-car), so Hitler in Germany was placed in power by the act of the ruling authorities against the people. In the last free elections

before Hitler came to power, in November, 1932, the Nazi Party only obtained 106 out of 584 seats, as against 221 for the Social Democrats and Communists. Even in March, 1933, after Hitler had been placed in power, after the Communist Party had been suppressed, with the Communist and Socialist Press suppressed, with terror raging, the Nazi Party was still only able to obtain 288 out of 647 seats. In the Presidential elections in June, 1932, Hitler was defeated with 13.4 million votes, against 23 million anti-Hitler votes. Hindenburg was elected President on the cry of keeping Hitler out. Hindenburg then used his Presidential power to suspend the democratic workings of the Constitution and placed Hitler in power to govern by decree without a parliamentary majority. Germany was handed over to Fascism by a conspiracy of the reactionary upper class Junkers, big industrialists and military authorities, in defiance of every expression of the democratic outlook of the people.

The Nazis endeavoured to maintain their hold on the German people after they had come into power by claiming that they had "solved the economic crisis" and "conquered unemployment." In fact the partial recovery from the depths of the world economic crisis in 1932 took place in all the countries of the capitalist world between 1922 and 1937, and Germany showed no peculiar feature in this respect. But the so-called "conquest of unemployment" in Germany concealed the turning of the entire forces of the German nation, and its vast technical equipment to the gigantic war programme of armament-building and military preparation, the construction of strategic roads and the conversion of industry for war, with the extension of conscription, forced labour service for a pittance, and a colossal financial expenditure for war purposes reaching to one thousand million pounds a year already by 1937.

German Re-Armament, 1933-37

Year	Total State Expenditure	Armaments Expenditure	Armaments Expenditure
	(million Reichmarks)		(£ million)
1933-4	9,700	3,000	250
1934-5	12,200	5,500	460
1935-6	16,700	10,000	830
1936-7	18,800	12,600	1,000
	("The Banker," February, 1937)		

The State Debt was trebled between 1933 and 1939.

This colossal armaments expenditure was no solution of the economic contradictions, as the Nazis pretended. On the contrary, it could only prepare a more intense crisis, for which they could seek no other solution than war. "As the rearmament programme draws to its close," wrote "The Barker," in February, 1937, "unemployment and under-nourishment must be the lot of the German people Germany, it is said, will find relief in War."

The advance to war went forward with the military re-occupation of the Rhineland in 1936, Spain in 1937, Austria in the spring of 1938, the Sudetenland in the autumn of 1938, and Czechoslovakia in the spring of 1939.

By the spring of 1939 the signs of new economic crisis were appearing. The Nazi leaders proclaimed that the only solution was war for the conquest of new territories. The leader of the Labour Front, Ley, declared in a mass meeting at Munich on March 12, 1939:

"If you go on living in this cramped area, fellow-workers, you will start fighting each other again, and Marxism will once more raise its head.....The time is ripe."

The aggression of Nazism for the conquest of Europe and the world was thus seen as the alternative to social reconstruction with in Germany.

3. *The Philosophy of Fascism*

Fascism is the deadly enemy of all mankind. Underlying all the elaborate organisation of the fascist state system, its terror troops and bandit armies, its sterilisation centres and concentration camps, its cold cruelties and frenzied schemes of world domination, lies a deep hatred and contempt of all humanity.

We must know Fascism for what it is, for what it stands for, for all that it has done and is doing and is yet planning to do; we must know and understand this on point of death; for Fascism is the death-threat to humanity. Once the true character of Fascism is understood, it cannot fail to arouse a deep and holy anger of all human beings which will unite them in one indomitable resolve—to destroy this foul monster.

All the methods of Fascism, its attitude to the people, to culture,

to women, to children and the young, to old people or to the sick, breathes this intended corruption.

The American educator, Dr. Zimmer, describes in his book "Education for Death," a dramatic poem which he observed being taught in a Nazi school for boys under ten years of age to learn by heart. The poem related how a lowly fly pounced on a smaller victim and refused to grant it mercy in spite of all its pleas. The stanza ended with the lines:

"Please," begged the victim, "let me go,
For I am such a little foe."

"No," said the victor, "not at all,
For I am big, and you are small."

The poem went on to describe how the spider killed the fly; the sparrow killed the spider; the hawk killed the sparrow, the fox killed the hawk; the dog killed the fox; the wolf killed the dog; the hunter killed the wolf, and in every case the victor refused to grant mercy because he was bigger and stronger. The lesson was driven home by the teacher:

"This struggle is a natural struggle. That is why the Fuhrer wants his boys to be strong, so they can be the aggressors and the victors, and not the victims. Life and nature respect only the strong and the big. Germany will be strong. The Fuhrer will make it so strong that it can go out and attack any foe in the wide world over.

Herein is expressed the diseased Nazi philosophy, the perversion of science and education to wipe out every instinct of human solidarity and co-operation, and to inculcate the lust for aggression, murder and conquest. The philosophy of Fascism is the philosophy of cruelty, of destruction, of the tyranny of the strong over the weak.

"Our State," boasted Hitler in his speech of October 3, 1941, when he gloated over the imagined prospect of the annihilation of the Soviet Union, "is not ruled by the principle of equal right for all like the Soviet Union." That sneer revealed the gulf between two conceptions of life. It revealed not only that Fascism repudiates the principles of the social order of human co-operation on which the Soviet Union is built. Fascism repudiates equally and at the same time all the principles for which every movement

of human progress and advance in the modern era. The great democratic revolutions of three centuries, the great thinkers and leaders of humanity, have fought. Fascism repudiates the liberty and equality of men. Fascism repudiates the brotherhood of man.

The glorification of inequality is the central theme of Fascism, as it must be the theme of all dictatorships and tyrannies. Walther Darre, the Nazi Minister of Agriculture, wrote in his book, "The New Autocracy of Blood and Soil," published in 1930:

"The order of society rests upon an inequality which cannot be abolished, but which is inseparable from man like birth and death. Inequality is as unchangeable as a mathematical truth, and as eternal as the laws which govern the movement of our planetary system."

So, too, Mussolini declared in his encyclopaedia article on Fascism, that "Fascism affirms the immutable, beneficial and fruitful inequality of mankind." In the name of the sacred principle of inequality it is proclaimed that all rights and privileges must rest in the hands of the *elite*, the elect, the ruling few—that is, of the fascist gangsters and their patron, the clique of reactionary militarists, large landowners and millionaires.

Except for the chosen of their own kind; the people for the fascist rulers are a herd—speaking animals, to be cared for as such in just sufficient physical condition to fulfil their task, toiling and laying down their lives for the benefit of the elect who really constitute the nation. The principle of Fascism is the principle of the *Herrenvolk*, the ruling stratum, conscious of its right to govern, and ready without mercy, without moral compunction, to win, maintain and exercise this right over the common herd. This is the significance of Hitler's statement already quoted that "we want a selection of the new ruling stratum which realises that by virtue of its racial superiority it has the right to rule and ruthlessly to maintain and secure with all means its rule over the broad masses."

"With all means." Since all sections of the people cannot be fully conquered, terror and all devices of violent coercion are necessary and justifiable weapons against those who resist, like the whip for animals. Hence the elaborate tortures and concentration camps, the rubber truncheons and castor oil, the beatings up and assassination are no excrescence on the face of Fascism ("re-

grievable excess," as its gentlemanly apologists here and in other countries used to say), but of its essence, the expression of its inmost soul, its highest conception of pleasure, on which the Fascist leaders have written glowing books to celebrate their exploits."¹

For the common people the contempt of Fascism is boundless. The people want bread and games. They cannot understand ideals. The masses of the people are not rational beings; they are sentimentals who can be taught anything and led anywhere.

"The nation can never replace the individual. They are not only the representatives of stupidity, but also of cowardice. And just as a hundred hollow reeds will not produce a wise man, so a countless decision cannot come from a hundred cowards."

(Hitler, quoted by Dr. Siegfried Meißner in "Adolf Hitler als Staatsmann und Volksführer," p. 14.)

"The great mass of the labouring classes wants nothing but bread and games. They have no understanding for ideals, and so we shall never be able to count on winning over the working men in any quantity."

(Hitler, quoted in "Die Grosse Trommel," p. 123).

From this contempt for the people follows the fascist theory of propaganda as the repetition of lies often enough till people believe them. Hitler has explained that the greater the lie, the more likely it is to be successful. The stupidity of the masses is in his view the foundation of all propaganda.

"The capacity of the great masses of the people to take in

¹ See, for example, the "Fingstos and Heiteres aus dem Putschleben" of Von Kollinger, in which he relates, among other incidents, how the campaign against the Soviet Government in Munich he had a soldier whip a young "wench" with a horse-whip "until there was not a white spot left on her backside;" or how, after a Communist street agitator had made an impudent reply to a threat, he had a soldier toss a hand grenade at the man, and goes on to recount with gusto the gory details of the man's death. Von Kollinger was appointed by Hitler Minister-President of Saxony. Such are the "heroes" of Fascism, like their patron saint, the pimp, Horst Wessel.

anything is very limited; their understanding is small; their forgetfulness is very great."

(Hitler, "Mein Kampf," p. 198.)

"The mass of the people are terrible in temperament and disposition; not reason and morality, but merely blind emotion govern their thought and action."

(Hitler "Mein Kampf," p. 200.)

Fascism is a religion, more than a collection of political human beings. The Fascists treat culture and education as if they were holy water. "When I hear the word 'culture' I feel as if I were at a cock fight" (Goering). Fascism as the embodiment of war demands obedient blind masses as its tools.

The fascist boast of having no programme is only the expression of this fear of thought. "What we need is not a programme, but action" (Mussolini). "Let us first begin to rule, then the programme will come by itself" (Hitler in 1923). "The people want no programmes, they want some one to rule them" (Hitler in 1927). "If I had founded the Party I should not have put out any programme at all.....We are reproached with having no programme, or that the one we have is full of contradictions. But just because of this we shall gain the victory." (Goebbels).

Fascism has declared war on culture, science and reason. Its appeal is to the lowest instincts. The highly advanced educational system which was once the pride of Germany, and one of the foundations of which the Nazis have been able to build their technical strength for war, has been laid in ruins by Hitler. Between 1933 and 1939 the number of students in universities and high colleges in Germany was brought down from 150,000 to 60,000 (quote of Dr. Mentzel of the Reich Ministry of Education, issued in 1941, calling attention to the alarming shortage of trained scientists). In the same period the number of students in the Soviet Union increased from 295,000 in 1930 to 700,000 in 1940. Can it be doubted which system will conquer? The ablest scientists in Germany have been dismissed or driven into exile, either because they were Jews or because they would not submit to Nazism and its degradation of science and refusal to permit honest scientific research and teaching. Up to 1938 the total number of scientific men of first-class reputation exiled from Germany and Austria was 1,888, including more than twenty-five per cent of Germany's Nobel prizewinners.

Even more significant than the wholesale cutting down of education is the character of what is taught. An analysis by the American statistician, F. Y. Hirschorne, of the number of students in the different subjects in 1937, a proportion of 1932, showed an average drop to 57.8 per cent of 1932; but a specially heavy drop in mathematics and natural science to 35.6 per cent, or one third, while the only increase was registered by journalism, 169 per cent, and "Education" 137.1 per cent, in the subjects of Nazi propaganda in place of the exact sciences. (F. Y. Hirschorne, "German Universities and National Socialism," Harvard University Press, 1937)

The degradation of the schools to the inculcation of militarism, contempt for intellectual interests ("the development of mental capacity: only of secondary importance," Hitler, "Mein Kampf"), racial hatred and aggressive aims against other nations, glorification of war and violence, blind obedience to leaders, and training in physical cruelty of the strong against the weak, follows from the basic conceptions and aims of Fascism and has been systematically carried out. "The school is the preparation for Army" is the governing rule laid down by the Nazi Minister of Education, Rust.

"Teaching in school can give the young bearer of Race (Rasenträger) something that will later be useful to him as bearer of Arms. Tables can be learnt with horseshoe nails. Logarithms find their most beautiful application in the science of ballistics (artillery). In geography the world war can come into its own through rights. History is full of overflowing with in times of war politics. Chemistry has as much application in the military: true it, with poison gas as in the fight for daily bread. Physics problems can best be explained by aid of a motor or a tank."

("Wehrerziehung," educational periodical, "Education for Arms" November, 1935).

Science, or the study of objective truth, is condemned and rejected.

"The new science is entirely different from the idea of knowledge that found its value in an unchecked effort to reach the truth."

(B. Rust, Nazi Minister of Education, speech at the 550th anniversary of Heidelberg University, 1936).

"We renounce international science. We renounce the international republic of learning. We renounce research for its own sake. . . . We teach and learn history and geography how things actually happened, not to instruct the German people from the past. We teach and learn the sciences not to discover abstract laws, but to sharpen the intellect of the German people in competition with other peoples."

(Dr. Kalastocki, Professor of History at Göttingen University, address on German Empire Day, "National," April 24, 1937).

"Science must be regarded by the racial State as a means of promoting national pride."

(Hitler "Mein Kampf," p. 473).

In place of Science, Fascism has developed its pseudo-science of "racial theory"—which is simply the expression of its hatred and contempt for all subject people, for all mankind apart from the *Herrenvolk* or ruling few, 2- "sub-human" and therefore without rights. This frenzied egotism is dressed up in mystical balderdash about the "myth of the blood," etc. "We think with the blood," says the Nazi, meaning that he dispenses with the burden of thought and wishes to justify all uncontrolled violence and brutality.

"To-day a new faith is awakening: the Myth of the Blood: the belief that it is by the Blood that the divine mission of man is to be defended: the belief, combined with the element of knowledge, that Nordic Blood represents the Mystery which has overcome and replaced the old Sacraments."

(Alfred Rosenberg, "The Myth of the Twentieth Century," Munich 1935, p. 114).

"Blood and soil, as fundamental forces of life, are the symbols of the national-political point of view, and the heroic style of life. By them the ground is prepared for a new form of education. What does Blood mean to us? We cannot rest satisfied with the teachings of physics, chemistry or medicine. From the earliest dawn of the race this Blood, this shadowy stearr of life has had a symbolic significance, and leads us into the realms of metaphysics. Blood is the builder of the body and the source of the spirit of the race. In Blood lurks our ancestral inheritance, in Blood is embodied the race, from Blood arises the character and destiny of man. Blood is to man the hidden undercurrent, the symbol of the stream of life."

(Address of the Rector of Frankfurt University, Krieck, in 1935¹)

The racial theory is no new discovery of Fascism. The myth of the superior nation race, with the right of conquer and oppress all "lesser breeds without the law," is the familiar myth of all empires and tyrannies. It was dressed up anew as a theory in its

¹ The language and thought of Fascists is, in the most literal sense, bloody. In this connection it is tempting to quote Dickens (who incidentally shows that the "Myth of Twentieth Century" was sufficiently familiar in the Victorian era):

"We might have been a party of Ogres, the conversation assumed such a sanguine complexion."

"I confess I am of Mrs. Waterbrook's opinion," said Mr. Waterbrook with his wine glass at his eye. "Other things are all very well in their way, but give me Blood!"

"Oh! There is nothing," observed Hamlet's aunt, 'so satisfactory to one! There is nothing that is so much one's *beau-ideal* of—of all that sort of thing, speaking generally. There are some low minds (not many, I am happy to believe, but there are *some*) that would prefer to do what I should call bow down before idols. Positively idols! But no service, intellect and so on. But these are intangible points. Blood is not so. We see Blood in a nose and we know it. We meet with it in a den, and we say, 'There it is! That's Blood!' It is an actual matter of fact. We point it out. It admits of no doubt."

"The surpering fellow with the weak legs stated the question more decisively yet."

"Oh, you kin w. deuce take it," said this gentleman, looking round the board with an imbecile smile, 'we can't forego Blood, you know. We must have Blood, you know. Some young fellows, you know, may be a little behind their station, perhaps, in point of education and behaviour, and may go a little wrong, you know, and get themselves and other people into a variety of fixes—and all that—but deuce take it, it's delightful to reflect that they've got Blood in 'em. Myself, I'd rather be knocked down by a man who had got Blood in him, than I'd be picked up by a man who hadn't."

(Dickens, "David Copperfield").

in modern form by the reactionary French R. de Gobineau, who sought to buttress the interests of the decaying nobles of French feudal aristocracy against the advance by his book on "The Inequality of Human Race" (1853), in which he contended that the different races of mankind are widely unequal in talent, worth and ability to absorb and create culture, and that therefore it is absurd to imagine that there can be a people of an equal degree of perfection. Since then, the racial theory has been the happy hunting ground of all opponents of human progress. Its completely unscientific character has been demonstrated by all serious scientists.

"One of the greatest enemies of science is pseudo science. Nowhere is this lamentable state of affairs more pronounced than in regard to 'race.' A vast pseudo science of 'racial biology' has been erected which serves to prove political ambitions, economic ends, social grudges, class prejudices

"One fact which emerges from a survey of the kind is the relative unimportance, from the immediate point of view, of purely biological factors as opposed to social problems in the broadest sense.....

"Racism is a myth, and a dangerous myth at that. It is a cloak for selfish economic aims, which in their unadorned nakedness would look ugly enough. And it is not scientifically grounded."

(Julian S. Huxley and A.C. Haddon, "We Europeans: A Survey of Racial Problems," 1935).

The racial theory is a weapon to cover up the real aims of the Hitlerites, the aims of the exploitation of their own people, of the destruction or enslavement of other nations, and of the destruction of culture and civilisation.

The racial theory serves to confirm the division of society into classes as a "natural biological necessity." The employers are a superior biological type, born to command; the workers are inferior species born to obey. In the National-Socialist State, declares Hitler:

"The German Labourer will be the mainstay, because he is susceptible to that feeling of faith and confidence which does not always think that it should use the probe of personal

opinion, but which consecrates itself to an idea in blind faith and obedience."

(Hitler, speech to the Second German Labour Congress).
And again Hitler:

"There does not exist a capitalist system. The employers have worked their way up to the top by their industry and efficiency. And by virtue of this selection, which shows that they belong to a higher type, they have the right to lead."

The racial theory serves to justify the right of aggression and conquest against all other nations.

"The Nordic Race has a right to rule the world. We must make this right the guiding star of our foreign policy."

(Hitler to Otto Strasser, May 21, 1930)

"Anyone who really and sincerely desires the victory of the pacifist idea must arrive by every means after the conquest of the world by the Germans...The pacifist-humanitarian idea may perhaps be very good after the world has been conquered and subjugated by the highest type of man, so that he becomes supreme lord of the earth."

(Hitler, "Mein Kampf," p. 315).

"The White Race is destined to rule. It has the unconscious urge to rule. This urge arises from its heroic conception of wealth, which is entirely non-pacifist...When the White Race abandons the foundations of its rule over the world it will lose that rule. It is a rule which is the basis of the European structure."

(Hitler, speech at Munich, January 26, 1936).

That by the world domination of the White Race, Hitler means the world domination of German imperialism is made sufficiently clear. All rivals are rejected as racially impure. Frenchmen are "negroids" and sub-human; France must be annihilated; the French Empire represents "a vast territory for settlement from the Rhine to the Congo, occupied by a bastardised lower race." The same applies to "worthless Poles, Czechs, etc"; Germany has the right of territorial expansion to the East at the expense of Russia. Britain is contaminated with Jews; America is "melting-pot" of races. Only the Japanese are temporarily recognised as "honorary Aryans"—until such times as conflict may arise with them.

All people of low race multiply like rabbits and only litter the earth. They must be ruthlessly subjugated, made to labour as bondslaves, and, where necessary, exterminated in order that the land may be taken for German settlers.

The racial theory serves for the destruction of political opponents in the name of "racial hygiene," with the 'justification' of "un-suitable types" and the justification of all measures against "lower biological types."

What I saw drove the blood from my face for a while. I admit. Hospital beds came and went with methodical precision. The doctors made quick, deft incisions on white abdomen walls, spread the vit and applied surgical clamps. They probed, delicately lifted a tube which they wrapped and cut. The wound was sewed, and the body was wheeled off to be replaced by another.

"What are they doing?" I asked.

He (my Nazi guide) informed me they were doing what the Third Reich had to do if Germany wanted to have a race of super-soldiers. "These doctors," he said, "are sterilising women."

For more than an hour I saw women come in with the cradle of life intact, and leave empty shells.

I asked what type of woman were thus being disciplined, and was informed they were the mentally sick, women with low resistance, women who had proved through older births that their offspring were not strong. They were women suffering from defects.

Upon questioning, he admitted that some of the women were sterilised because they were enemies of the State. Many of them should be in concentration camps.

"It is not humane to keep women in concentration camps," he said. "But, a sterilised woman loses her interest in politics, especially if her fellow-women know that she is sterilised. And we see to it that the others find out."

He could not tell me how many women were sterilised yearly; but he knew that in this particular clinic six doctors operated four days a week.

The process had been going on in all larger German cities since 1933.

(Gregor Ziemer, "Eugenics in for Death," New York, 1941).

The destruction of the weak and old people is openly advocated by Nazi leaders as a necessary measure to relieve the State of useless burdens. The great Nazi leader, Ernst Mann, in his book *Der Moralische Kampf* ("The Struggle of strength"), published in Germany, declares it to be the holy duty of all chronic invalids and those disabled in war, and declares that the State should undertake "the annihilation of all weaklings and sickly people."

Since the outbreak of war, tens of thousands of sick and aged Germans have been murdered by the State authorities in accordance with this principle.

"But in no field of action has their 'logic' been invoked to justify such extreme measures as inside Germany itself toward those who, because of physical or physical disability, can no longer contribute to the efficiency of the German State. Nazi dogma decrees that the individual lives for the benefit of the State. Nazi logic concludes from this premise that any individual who is a burden on the State is undesirable. They have proceeded, under this doctrine, to liquidate the aged, insane and infirm by the thousands. How many have actually been killed under the label of euthanasia or 'mercy killing,' since the practice began sometime in the summer of 1940 no one knows outside of the Gestapo, who supervised the operation. Estimates by Germany's worst enemies, persons of knowledge of the affair who were in touch with American correspondents in Berlin have run as high as four up to three and to one hundred thousand. This seems a probable exaggeration. It may be nearer twenty thousand. But there can be no doubt of the fact that large numbers of persons have been taken from the sanatoriums of Germany and destroyed."

(Joseph C. Harsch, "Pattern of Conquest," Heinemann, 1942, pp. 227-8).

Most of the broad social measures exist only for the Nazi elite and their hanger-on, for the "politically reliable" and those approved by the Nazi authorities. The mass of the people must manage as best they can. When the women were driven out of jobs in the early years of the regime, in order to deal with unemployment, in the name of sending them "back to the home"

they were sent to tend for themselves. Even when the production of war industry required them again, they were needed back for industry, and the propaganda about the "arrests" of the "Jews" was put into cold storage.

Nowhere is the whole fascist philosophy more simply expressed in all its bestiality than in its relation to women and to its conception of the role of woman in society. In the fascist philosophy women have only the twofold task, to produce soldiers and to perform household drudgery or, when necessary, the lowest drudgery in war industry and on the fields. All education, culture, participation in politics or responsible work must be closed to them. Their training must be rigidly confined to preparation for this animal role in the militarist State.

"In the case of female education the main stress should be laid on bodily training, and after that, on development of character; and last of all on intellect. But the one absolute aim of female education must be with a view to the future mother."

(Hitler, "Mein Kampf," pp. 419-60).

"The National-Socialist movement is in its nature a masculine movement.....While man must give to life the great lines and forms it is the task of woman out of her inner fulness and inner eagerness to fill these lines and forms with colour. The realms of directing and shaping are not hard to find in public life. To such realms belong for one thing the tremendously great sphere of politics. This sphere without qualification must be claimed by men. When we eliminate women from public life, it is not because we want to dispense with them, but rather because we want to give them back their essential honour.....The outstanding and highest calling of woman is always that of wife and mother...woman will find her personal happiness in family and child."

(Goebbels, February 11, 1934, quoted in "Der Nationalsozialistische Staat".)

"The mother should be able to devote herself entirely to her children and her family, the wife to the husband. The unmarried girl should be dependent only upon such occupations as correspond to the feminine type of being. As for the rest, employment should remain given over to the man."

(Dr. W. Frick, "Die Deutsche Frau im Nationalsozialistischen Staate".)

"You know what I have done for the women of Germany. Well my new war is the same. For my new army I have provided you with the finest material of children in the whole world; that is what I have done for the women of Germany."

(Hitler, speech to an audience of women at the Nuremberg Congress of the Nazi Party, September, 1936).

The Nazi rulers are only too ready to use human cannon-fodder, reliable only for the purpose of conquering other peoples; for the ceaseless new wars and aggression, they need more of the German race to populate the newly conquered regions, after exterminating or driving out the original inhabitants.

In the Nazi State women represent the necessary machinery for the machine to produce soldiers. To this aim all else is subordinated. In relation to her aim all the clapping about the sacredness of the family and the home is thrown overboard.

For the aim the Nazis have nullified and destroyed love, marriage and the family. They have perverted family life. Again and again the principle is proclaimed: "The only moral obligation of German women is the production of children." Rosenberg writes:

"The German tribal streams of former centuries would never have come into existence, had it not been for polygamy, and this is as much as to say that all the preconditions of Western culture would have been lacking. There were also later times when the number of women was far greater than that of men. To-day this is again the case. Shall these millions of women, payingly enrolled as old maids, go through life robbed of their natural rights?.....The future German Reich will consider just the childless woman, whether married or not, as a second rate (nicht vollwertig) member of community."

(Alfred Rosenberg, "The Myth of the Twentieth Century.")

The "Schwarze Korps," official organ of the storm troopers, punts the lesson sharply during the war:

"It is not permissible that the birth of children of pure blood is diminished during the war below the pre-war level. A girl who shirks the fulfilment of her highest duty is as much

a traitor as a soldier who deserts the front. Storm troops! Show that you are not only ready to give your lives for the Fatherland, but make it a present of the largest possible quantity of living beings before you go to the battlefield."

Himmler has followed this up even more explicitly:

"On German girls lies now a military duty. The question now is not about marriage ties—marriage here does not come into question. Your duty is to become mothers of children of the soldiers who go to the front."

Again the "Schwarze Korps":

"If in a family where the mother is healthy there is no progeny, it is necessary to have recourse to artificial fecundation. If this method does not give the desired result, it is necessary to call in to assist the husband—if possible—the brother of the husband."

If the husband has no brother, the "Schwarze Korps" recommends recourse to any youth from the S.S.

Thus at one moment the Hitlerite propaganda clamours for "Lebensraum," for "living space," or the violent conquest of new territories as the indispensable necessity to provide room for the growing population of Germany to expand. At the next moment the Hitlerite propaganda clamours for the increase of the German population by every means in order to conquer and settle the new territories. This contradiction does not trouble the heads of the Nazis; for both demands are in reality only complementary aspects of the same policy, the policy of aggressive expansion of German militarism and imperialism.

The philosophy of Fascism is the doomed philosophy of the forces of destruction, barbarism and decay of a dying society. Consciously fighting human progress and advance, hating the people, hating freedom and hating life, its outlook is one of black and open pessimism.

"We have no belief in programmes or plans, in saints or apostles. Above all, we have no belief in happiness, in salvation or in the promised land."

(Mussolini, "Popolo d'Italia," January 1, 1922).

"Fascism denies the materialist conception of happiness as a possibility."

(Mussolini, "The Political and Social Doctrine of Fascism.")

Similarly the original pattern philosopher of Fascism, Oswald Spengler:

"Only dreamers believe that there is a way out. Optimism is cowardice. We are born into this time and must bravely follow the path to the destined end. There is no other way. Our duty is to hold on to the last position, without hope, without rescue."

The "new man" and the "new order" created by Hitler exists for war and only for war. "Man is a beast of prey," as Spengler wrote in 1933, when he was still approved by the Nazis as the prophet of the New Germany. "The measure of the strength of people is always and exclusively its readiness for military conflict" (Rosenberg). "It is a torture for us not to have a new war. ... War is the most simple affirmation of life. Suppress war and it would be like trying to suppress the process of nature. These are also terrible. Lately living time is terrible" (Goebbels in 1934). "Not a 'community of men' of fox will, but victorious war is the true social ideal" (H. Kaufmann). The "new man" of the Nazi pattern is, according to the boast of his leaders, totally permeated with the ideas of war. He does not and cannot think of anything else. War is his only passion, his only enjoyment, his voice and his sport. Everything is directed to the central task of the robbery and enslavement of other peoples.

For a decade the entire society in Germany has been moulded according to this pattern by the Nazi rulers. The greater part of a generation has been trained in the Nazi schools and in the network of Nazi institutions to fulfil this pattern. In this way has been built up the gigantic machine of aggression to let loose over Europe and the world.

4. The Nazi "New Order" in Europe

For two and a half years the hordes of Hitler and Mussolini have overrun Europe, robbing its towns and villages, destroying the independence and freedom of peoples, massacring and pillaging, deporting populations for forced labour, and turning Europe into a graveyard and a slave camp.

The expedition of pillage and massacre against Abyssinia seven years ago was the prelude, which was followed by the invasion of Spain and the conquest of Austria and Czechoslovakia. The "Brown Network" of Nazi terror gangs and murder spread over Europe to prepare the ground. The Hitler terror network, Germany, financed and directed from Berlin, organised the murder of Chancellor Dollfuss of Austria, of Prime Minister Cerna of Rumania, of King Alexander of Yugoslavia, and the French Foreign Minister, Barthou. Tens of millions of pounds annually were spent on the foreign organisation and propaganda, employing thousands of provocative agents in every capital of Europe; bribing statesmen, diplomats, generals and the press; and making every Nazi embassy and consulate a centre of intrigue, conspiracy and crime. The book, "The Brown Network," published in 1936, described with voluminous evidence this organised system, and listed the number of German refugees murdered in the countries to which they had fled. The Soviet trials of 1936 to 1938 uncovered—and smashed—one corner of this conspiracy, when it attempted to penetrate the Soviet Union, where it met with short shrift in place of the free licence of other countries. All this preliminary work was only preparation for the march of the armies and direct conquest.

For the sake of gain and conquest the Hitlerite clique has turned millions of their own people into cannon fodder. Hitler promised the German people honour, bread and peace. Instead, the Nazi rule has brought endlessly extending wars of aggression; it has brought the hatred and contempt of Germany by all other European peoples; it has laid waste Germany's resources and brought impoverishment and suffering for the masses of the people. In place of the repeatedly renewed, and repeatedly postponed promises of speedy victory and peace, every campaign has been followed by a new marauding campaign in limitless perspective.

The Nazi rulers cannot proclaim their true aims to the people; for their true aims are not in the interests of the German people or the peoples of Europe, but are directed solely to increase the handful of the German trust magnates, Junkers, and militarists, whom the Hitlerite clique represents. In vain they seek to conceal their aims with a thin veil of phrases about a "New Order in Europe" and the "Crusade against Communism." Nothing can

and a fascist army which has sought to live at peace, and inslaving in turn Austrians, Czechs, Slovaks, Poles, Danes, Norwegians, Dutchmen, Belgians, Frenchmen, Serbs, Greeks, Estonians, Lithuanians, Latvians, Ukrainians, etc.

Conscious of their wars as wars of aggression, they seek to involve their troops and people in a direct personal interest in booty and spoils as the only incentive. The fascist armies are not people's armies fighting for a cause; they reproduce the old mercenary armies of bandit hordes fighting for gain. This was demonstrated already in Abyssinia and Spain; it is demonstrated on a gigantic scale in Europe to-day and in the character of the war in the Soviet Union. The letters from the civilian population found on the bodies of dead fascist soldiers are again and again letters demanding the despatch of food, clothing, furs, valuables. This system is directly encouraged and organised by the High Command. The secret instruction of July 17, 1941, addressed to all propaganda units of the German army and found by the Red Army when they routed the 68th German Infantry Division directly declared:

"Rooted in every officer and soldier of the German army is the consciousness of personal and material interest in the war."

Order No. 24720 of the Chief of Staff of the 14th Rumanian Division, Colonel Nikolae Icu, laid down:

"Grain, large-horned cattle, small-horned cattle, poultry, all this must be taken away from the population for the army. In every home it is essential to make a careful search and to seize all clothing and whatever else is to be found. For the slightest resistance shoot down on the spot and burn the house."

The Red Army General Rokossovsky, who fought the Germans in the war of 1914 and in the present war, has described the difference between the Kaiser's army and Hitler's army:

"Wilhelm's army was better than Hitler's. Hitler has ruined the German army. It's hard to explain, except to a professional soldier. Hitler's army can win many victories, but it will never win a war. Wars are won only by real armies, and Hitler's is not a real army."

"It looks very much like a real army, mind you. An inexperienced eye could easily be taken in. The German soldiers march perfectly; they're well primed with rules and regulations. Many of them shoot well, many of them are brave. The commanders know tactics and topography perfectly, and many of them also are brave.

"Nevertheless, it is not a real army. It is an 'einsatz' army. It is obsessed with the desire for gain. Perhaps you will understand me better if I say that it is a commercial army, not a military one.....

"By employing such tactics, the German regiment has lost a certain quality of military value. When that regiment meets one of our regiments it will be defeated. The Nazi will lose the war."

Not only have Hitler and his gang harnessed their own people to the Nazi war machine, but they are attempting to harness all the conquered people of Europe by every method of terror and deception. For the subjugated peoples of Europe the invasion of the Nazi armies and the establishment of Nazi domination has meant unexampled barbarity and spoliation. Requisitioning and pillage; wholesale violence against the civilian population; systematic extermination in whole regions in order to make room for German settlers; and wholesale deportations to supply forced labour for the Nazi conquerors, have been the order of the day.

The economic spoliation of the conquered peoples is conducted with an elaborate and systematic organisation which is able to combine simple robbery and seizure with all the armoury of the advanced technique of modern monopoly capital, exchange manipulation, compulsory cartels and amalgamation, share control, holding companies, banking monopoly, inflation of local currencies, etc. Production in the conquered countries is turned to service of Nazi war requirements; industries producing consumption goods for the people are deprived of raw materials, closed down or converted to war purposes; and amid shortage of the necessities of life the people are compelled to labour for the Nazi war machine which holds their country enslaved and uses the products of their labour to attack other countries. The populations are compelled to work for the German rulers, either by the direct deportation of workers to y (now totalling

over two million foreign workers in Germany, and intended to reach, according to official statements, four millions), or by German control of the industries employing them.

Direct requisitioning and commandeering has applied above all to foodstuffs, cattle and agricultural products, and in some cases to machinery.

"In every country which they have overrun they have commandeered outright nearly all the food reserves and have ordered the slaughtering of much of the livestock. During this week alone, September 16-22 Germany is taking over 17,000 sheep from Denmark, 15,000 for immediate slaughter, 2,000 for grazing. Over 11,000 head of cattle are similarly being taken from Denmark to the Western districts of the Reich. Holland lost nineteenth of her butter reserves in a week. Out of 28,000,000 poultry in the Netherlands, 22,000,000 are being killed this autumn." (*Times*, September 20, 1940.)

This requisitioning is commonly "paid for" by the "Illusion Mark," that is, by a special marks credit established in the country at an artificially high rate of exchange, thus serving to depreciate and eventually ruin the local currency and effectively tie the economy of the country to German economy. In return, the despoiled country must buy German industrial products at high monopoly prices. This was the system by which, in an initial form, the ingenuity of Dr. Schacht, the super-sharper at the head of Nazi finance, was already tying the Balkans and South Eastern Europe in a tightening network to Germany before the war, and which has now been extended all over Europe in a far more developed and still more predatory form with the aid of the war.

The occupied States have to pay for the armies of occupation to the extent of something like £900,000,000 a year, or about £12 a head of the population—a sum great enough to maintain eight million soldiers on the British level. Since this is far in excess of the actual occupying forces, these payments are in fact direct tribute. It is estimated that the Nazis are extracting in all some £1,000,000,000 to £1,100,000,000 a year from the conquered peoples, or an average of one-fifth of their pre-war national income. The value of confiscated property, factories, machinery, arms and equipment cannot be estimated; seizures of gold and State property (prior to the Soviet Union) have been estimated at £1,000,000,000.

In France alone between the armistice and the end of 1941, according to the estimates of the German press, two hundred thousand million francs had been squeezed out during one and a half years of occupation. Half of France's wheat crop, 80 per cent of the total wine yield, the bulk of the potato and sugar beet crops and several hundred thousand head of cattle had been seized by the Germans. In 1941, 90 per cent of the output of the French canneries was transported to Germany, as well as 85 per cent of the motor vehicles turned out in France. Six thousand French enterprises were compelled to produce consumer goods for Germany out of French materials. In occupied France, by the beginning of 1942, 80 per cent of the entire manufacturing industry was occupied on German orders. (*Economist*, February 21, 1942).

What this spoliation of food supplies has meant in starvation and worsened health conditions of the French population has been attested by French official figures. The Health Office of the Seine Department reported that mortality in January, 1942, was 49 per cent above January, 1939, and infant mortality had risen by 50 per cent. The Vichy town health department reported in October, 1941, that 52 per cent of the kindergarten children were ill from privation, and that infant mortality had tripled during the first half of 1941.

To break the resistance of the conquered populations the most methodical terrorist system is organised in order to lead to moral and physical exhaustion of the masses of the people and acceptance of Nazi rule. The Polish Government, in "The German New Order in Poland," published in the beginning of 1942, has recorded the evidence of the massacres, individual shooting, imprisonment and starvation in Poland; the killing of over 30,000 Polish men, women and children in or near their homes since the fighting was over and the "New Order" established; the death of thousands more in the concentration camps; the organisation of communities in forced labour gangs; the establishment of walled-in ghettos in the large towns; the closing of all universities and higher schools, and even of Polish elementary schools, for the destruction of Polish culture. The Yugoslav Government, in a report issued in March 1942, has recorded the massacres by the German punitive exhibitions in Serbia; how in a single month in the Macva region the Nazis killed more than 15,000 people, burning down nearly all the villages and driving off the cattle in the Rudnik region

they burned almost the whole town of Gornji Milanovac, leaving 72 houses standing out of 450; in the town of Kraljevo they officially declared that they had shot 6,000 people; in the town of Kragujevac, eighty miles south of Belgrade, the following notice was posted by Hitler's express order :

"For each German soldier killed 100 Serbs will be shot. For each German soldier wounded 50 Serbs will be shot. Sniping from houses will be punished by shooting all people in the respective houses who are over 15 years old. The house itself must be destroyed and burnt."

The mass executions of hostages in France included such heroic popular leaders as the Communist Gabriel Peri, Raymond Guyot, Recamond and Seinaud. The execution of the leaders of the Norwegian Trade Unions was followed by the tortures of Norwegian citizens, some of the facts of which slipped out, through a handful who escaped, and were published in the Swedish press in March, 1942, with the result that the Swedish newspapers which carried the terrible record were suppressed by the Swedish Government. The well-known methods of the terror within Germany have been extended with ever greater ruthlessness over Europe.

Faced with the unbreakable resistance of the Soviet people in the invaded territories, and deprived of the hope of using them as their tools,¹ the Nazi authorities in their war against the Soviet

¹ "In all the territory that Hitler has overrun there is not one Russian quibbling" (Eden broadcast on January 4, 1942). Hitler had hoped to find Quibbling, Fifth Columnists in the wide Soviet regions he overrun and among the unhappy masses who fell into his power. He looked for them, he searched for them, but he found none." (Churchill broadcast on February 16, 1942). The most striking evidence of this is to be found in the Nazi official admissions. Thus the General Commissariat of White Russia was excluded from Rosenberg's Decree for the setting up of local governing authorities in conquered regions on the grounds that "after nearly twenty-five years under the Soviet regime the necessary organisations and individuals are lacking as a basis on which to build up self-administration." Similarly Dr. Schlötterer, Ministerial Director in the Reich Ministry for the Eastern Occupied Territories,

Union and treatment of the population in the occupied Soviet territories have resorted to methods of barbarism which have exceeded even their own previous records. The Order of the Day of Field-Marshal von Reichenau in October, 1941, called for the extermination of the local Soviet population and the destruction of all historical buildings:

"The provision of food to the local population and to prisoners of war is unnecessary humanitarianism.....

"The troops are interested in putting out fires only in such buildings as can be used as quarters for the troops. All the rest, which are symbols of the domination of the Bolsheviks, must be destroyed. No treasures of history and art in the East are of the slightest consequence."

The Molotov Note, on German Atrocities, issued on January 6, 1942 has recorded the devastation and barbarism; the razing of towns and villages to the ground; the blowing up and burning of dwelling houses, public buildings, factories, workshops, schools, libraries, hospitals and churches; in one village, 960 out of 998 homes destroyed; in another 564 out of 602; in another 225 out of 233, the erection of gallows in occupied towns and villages, the seizure of all foodstuffs, grain, cattle, poultry, household linen, clothing, blankets, kitchen utensils; the stripping of men and women naked and leaving them to starve and freeze in the Russian winter, the raping of pregnant women; the shooting at children for targets, the public exhibition of rows of mutilated bodies of women and children to terrorise the population. In Kiev within a few days of its capture 52,000 men, women, old men and children were killed and tortured; in Lvov 6,000 were shot; in Odessa 8,000; in Kamenetsk-Podolsk 8,500 were killed or hanged; in Dnepropetrovsk 10,500 were shot by machine guns. As for the treatment of prisoners of war :

complained that in the occupied Soviet territories "Bolshevisation has been pushed to such a point that men have lost all comprehension of such notions as possession, property and private enterprise" (National Zeitung, February 14, 1942); while Kube, General Commissar of White Russia complained at a conference of officials on February 20, 1942, that the youth of the territory were for the most part infected with Bolshevik ideas.

"Red Army prisoners are tortured with red-hot irons, their eyes are poked out, their legs, hands, ears and noses cut off. Their stomachs are ripped open. They are tied to tanks and crushed to pieces."

The appeal of the Soviet women to the German women broadcast in March, 1942, declared:

"German women! Do you know what the Nazis are doing in occupied Soviet territory? They have inflicted indescribable suffering on Soviet people. They are cutting open the bodies of pregnant women, cutting off the breasts of young mothers, bombing hospitals, setting fire to kindergartens, throwing people into the fire, exterminating hundreds of people to death, putting out the eyes of Red Army men, branding their faces with fascist signs."

The peoples of Europe will never forget and never forgive the crimes of the fascist tyrant, on whom full vengeance will be taken when the hour comes, in order that the last vengeance of Fascism shall be wiped off the face of the earth and Fascism shall never again threaten the life of humanity.

The aim of Hitler in organizing an economic network of control and exploitation in the conquered countries is directed, not merely for immediate gains and confiscation, but to establish a permanent hold by subordinating the whole economy and finance.

Firms and enterprises in the occupied countries are drawn into the German cartel system, subordinated to German banks, or dominant share control by German holders established. Thus in Belgium the entire coal production has been drawn into the newly constituted Union des Societes Charbonnieres which is controlled by the German Kluckner Konzern and the Hugo Stinnes Coal Association; the steel industry, through the Ougtee Maribay, now dependent on the Otto Wolff Konzern, through the Phoenix Works, acquired by the Vereinigte Stahlwerke, and the steel syndicate Sybe'ac, has been brought under the control of the German Steel Cartel; the chemical industry is controlled by the Solvay Trust, predominant influence in which is now held by the Hermann Goering Konzern; and subsidiaries of German banks (the Kontinentale Bank in Brussels founded by the Dresdener Bank, the Banque de l'Ouest in Brussels and the Banque du Travail in Antwerp, found-

ed by the Bank der Deutschen Arbeit) provide the means of extending German control over Belgian industry. Similarly in France:

"The German authorities use unspent money received from French Government under the armistice agreement to cover occupation costs, in order to acquire share capital majorities in mines, iron and steel works, chemical, electro-technical and automobile works. By this and by other means virtually all French industry has passed under direct or indirect German control" (*Times*, November 18, 1941).

This predatory absorption and fusion of the economy of the conquered countries into the network of exploitation of German monopoly capital provides the economic basis of the Quisling and Fifth Column who have operated on behalf of Nazi Germany in all the conquered countries, except the Soviet territories, where none could be found. The Quislings are not only individual traitors, adventurers, gangsters and mercenaries; they represent a corrupt section of employers, traders, financiers, officials, etc., who live as intermediaries of the Nazi system of exploitation. In the various conquered countries, notes the *Economist* of January 10, 1942, "attempts to introduce Labour Fronts after the German model were not very successful; but various employers' federations acquiesced more readily." They represent a weak and degenerate bourgeoisie, which has lost all confidence in its capacity to maintain its power and privileges against its own people, and therefore prefers to betray the nation to the Nazi conquerors in order to survive as vassals enjoying the crumbs of the spoils. These enemies of the nation, tied to the chariot of the Nazi executioners, seek to deck themselves with the cloak of the "New Order" in Europe and the "Crusade against Bolshevism." The muffled revelations

¹ The original Quisling was a Commander of the British Empire (and a Buchmanite, according to Sydney Dark, late editor of the *Church Times*) decorated by a Labour Government for his services in representing British interests in Moscow in 1927-29. His book, "Russia and Ourselves," issued by a leading London publisher in 1933, opens with the typical Quislingite sentence: "An unpeepably dangerous enemy is threatening our civilisation and primarily the British Empire; this enemy is Bolshevism, the monster of Russia."

of the Riom trial have shown how the leading French reactionaries and militarists turned armed French defences and opened the front to the enemy in order to defeat the hated-popular forces of the French nation; it was Field-Marshal Lyautey who said already in 1931 that "I feel more hatred towards certain Frenchmen—the revolutionaries—than towards the Germans of my own class," and the conservative Académicien Louis Bertrand who declared: "I feel closer to Hitler and his race, infinitely closer than to the Communists." Here is the seed of counter-revolutionary treason and the Fifth Column (like the monarchists at Coblenz, or the Tsarist emigres who took up arms against their country) who, if unchecked, can lead a nation to ruin and slavery, and on whom Nazism has skilfully played for its own purposes.

This is the corrupt, foul and bloodstained basis of mass executions, spoliation and enslavement of the masses of the people, with the collaboration of a small group of traitor intermediaries, on which Hitler seeks to build his "New Order" in Europe and eventually throughout the world. The "New Order" in Europe, like "National Socialism" in Germany, is a gigantic deception. Just as the necessity of collective organisation in Germany is exploited to conceal the brigandage of the Nazi gangsters, Junker landlords, militarists and reactionaries, so the no less undoubted necessity of the economic and political unification of Europe is exploited to conceal the brigandage of the Nazi gangsters and German monopoly capital in the enslavement and exploitation of Europe.

The conception of the "New Order" in Europe (like Japan's "New Order" in Asia) is the conception of the *Herrenvolk*, the ruling stratum or "superior race" maintaining ruthlessly its domination over the masses, extended to Europe as a preliminary to its extension over the world. Between the Germans and the remaining inhabitants of Europe a sharp line is drawn. The whole of European economy must be reorganised to suit the requirements of German finance-capital. The remaining countries must be driven back to the role of agricultural colonies, providing raw materials and slave labour for German industry. Wherever necessary for the establishment of "Greater Germany," existing populations must be exterminated or deported to make room for the expansion of German settlers. To the German working population is assigned the role of a labour aristocracy within the slave

system, enjoying a relatively privileged position, sharing in the plunder, and thus to be given a direct material interest in the maintenance of the slave system, and paying for it with their blood.

The gulf between the ruling and subject peoples in the European "New Order" is strikingly shown in the present allocation of food. The following table shows the rations in Germany and the German-controlled countries in the beginning of 1942 :

NORMAL RATIONS (OUNCES PER WEEK)

	<i>Meat</i>	<i>Total Fats</i>
Germany—present ration	14.1	8.8
„ ration in 1916	8.8	4.0
France	8.8	no fixed ration
Belgium .. .	8.6	3.7
Holland .. .	2.5	7.0
Poland	4.4
Finland . . .	2.5	1.3

(*Economist*, January 17, 1942)

This differentiation extends to every sphere of life and social and political organisation. In every Nazi-controlled country the Germans are organised as a separate racial group under their own leadership and with special rights and privileges, protected by regulations and treaties which already begin to take on the character of the old system of "capitulations" and "extra-territoriality" in colonial and semi-colonial countries.

"In annexed territories of non-German population the Germans at once become a special class; in Warsaw a quarter, shut off by a green belt, is being built to house 10,000 of them. Where Germans in any numbers live in territory which is not directly annexed, the Reich obtains from the State where they reside a recognition of them as a Volksgruppe; treaties to this effect have been signed not only by Croatia and Slovakia, but by Rumania and even Hungary." (*Times*, February 8, 1942).

"The National-Socialist World Empire under Hitler's leadership is now arising," proclaimed Governor General Frank of Poland in a speech at Berlin University on November 19, 1941. The same Governor General Frank had most sharply proclaimed

its principles in an address to a meeting of German officials in Warsaw in January, 1941 :

"The administration of the 'Gouvernement-General' is a training-ground for the future tasks which the Reich must face. The 'Gouvernement-General' is the first country annexed in Europe as a "Nebenland"—an auxiliary territory for the Reich."

Similarly the Gauleiter of Poznan, Greiser, had declared :

"Never again will even a centimetre of the soil that we have conquered belong to a Pole. The Poles can work for us, but no longer as rulers, for which they have proved themselves incapable, but only as serfs."

The "New Order" of Nazism is not new, but very old, as old as slavery and oppression in human history. Its essential character seeks to revive the characteristics of the slave empires of antiquity. The Nazis have no eye for the future, but seek to find their inspiration in the vanished glories of the past. In a speech at Aux-la-Chapelle on May 1, 1939, after the seizure of Czechoslovakia, Rosenberg sought to proclaim that the prototype of Hitler's Empire must be Charlemagne's Empire :

"Under the roof of Adolph Hitler's Germany must be gathered everything that has ever belonged to Germany in her thousand years of history."

"A new epoch has opened for the German people. The Nazi slogan, "One People, One Country" is now over-ruled. Henceforth, as has been demonstrated by the occupation of Bohemia and Moravia, the German Reich must embrace all the peoples of the old German Empire. Charlemagne is the new symbol of Nazi philosophy, and Adolph Hitler is his first real successor."

This fanciful claim gave already, in the spring of 1939, a hint of the intended frontiers of the new "Greater Germany." The Empire of Charlemagne included the whole of France, Switzerland, Holland, Belgium, half of Italy, and part of Yugoslavia and Hungary, in addition to Germany; during the past thousand years the frontiers of Germany also included half of Poland.

The frontiers of the new "Greater Germany" would include almost all the industrial regions of Europe (excluding the U.S.S.R.)

while in the remaining regions the agricultural worker would outnumber the industrial worker by more than two to one. The consequent structure of economy was described by the Reich Minister of Economy, Dr. Funk, in a speech on July 25, 1940:

"The peace-time economy must guarantee to the Greater German Reich a maximum of security and to the German people a maximum of consumption goods in order to increase their welfare. European economies must be directed towards this end."

Dr. Funk made clear the status which the "New Order" would provide for the subject peoples of Europe and the world.

"It is necessary to think not only of a national State but of a World Empire. The position of the Poles or the Natives in the colonies must be considered under criminal law from the standpoint of the supremacy of the German people."

In a more recent speech delivered at the general meeting of the Reichsbank on March 17, 1942, Dr. Funk, as President of the Reichsbank, dealt with the problem of the war debt, which he described as "utterly unthinkable according to present-day conditions"; but, he continued:

"The debt would no longer be a problem after victory, as cheap raw material and labour then at Germany's disposal will enable it to be wiped out."

"Cheap raw material and labour at Germany's disposal." The speculation of the Nazi gamblers is here laid bare. Such is the bountiful prospect of the "New Order," as described by the Reich Minister of Economy, offered to the conquered peoples of the world "after the victory" of Fascism.

Thus the outlines of the real Nazi war aims, the true character of the "New Order" in Europe and the world begin to reveal themselves equally in present experience and in future prospect. Their real war aims are intended to consolidate their world hegemony and the fascist regime for ever, in an ossified hierarchic structure of domination and enslavement—a pyramid, with Hitler, the Nazi gangsters, the German war-lords and big industrialists at the top; then, the German "racial" population in Germany and the conquered countries, lording it over the subject peoples and sharing in the plunder; then, the subordinate "Germanic" (Flemish, Scandinavian, etc.) communities in other countries organised in

imitation Nazi parties, the Quislings and agents, sharing in the role as slave-drivers; and at the bottom, all the non-German subject populations as tools without rights.

In the name of the "New Order" Hitler calls on the peoples of Europe to join in the "Crusade" against Communism and the U.S.S.R. With this "Crusade for European culture against the Anglo-Saxon Jewish Bolshevik conspiracy" he hopes to rally the support of the reactionary puppeted sections in all countries and thus to consolidate the chains of the "New Order" on the peoples of Europe and the world. The Hess Mission showed that he even hoped with this appeal to foment division within the ruling classes of Britain and the United States. The old battle-cry of Fascism, temporarily placed in cold storage between 1939 and 1941, is thus brought to the forefront anew. With this slogan German Fascism advanced to power in Germany. With this slogan German Fascism built up its armed strength by the connivance of the ruling classes in other countries. With this slogan German Fascism broke the Peace Front which could have checked its aggression. But to-day the old magic no longer works as formerly. The true face of Fascism has been revealed in the experience of the peoples of Europe. Only a handful of Quislings, corrupt and degenerate elements, mercenaries and adventurers respond to Hitler's call. The peoples of Europe see instead in solidarity with the Soviet Union the path to liberation from fascist slavery. The resistance of the Soviet people has inspired with renewed courage and confidence the national resistance of the European peoples. The revolt of the European peoples is rising against the "New Order," the daily arrests and executions of the heroic pioneers to-day are the prelude of the mass revolt of to-morrow.

The adventurist plans of the Nazis will not win success, despite their temporary victories over many peoples who were unprepared. Fascism will never establish its "New Order." But the cost in human life and suffering is already heavy, and the account rises with every day that passes. We must therefore intensify our efforts to speed the day of liberation.